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THE COMING CONGRESS.

So it seems that the great questions which for months have threatened Europe with war, are to be brought to the test of arbitration, and settled on the principles of common sense! This is good news. To be sure, we must by no manner of means exult too soon, for the very good reason, that things had gone immense lengths before this resolution was come to; and that even now, an insurrection in any Italian town may scatter to the winds our rising hopes. But, nevertheless, a peaceful victory has been achieved so far. The Emperor of Austria has taken England's advice kindly, and the Emperor of the French respectfully. Lord Cowley's mission has done practical good. A Congress is to meet in one of the Western capitals, and to consider how the difficulties of the situation may be arranged with due regard to the honour of the Powers now at variance.

In the fact that such a proposal has been found practicable, we see several most satisfactory symptoms. It is not so easy to get up a war in the heart of Europe now-a-days, which is in itself a most cheerful consideration. We have not the least doubt that a successful war has always been one of Louis Napoleon's favourite visions, and considering how many of his visions have become realities, we cannot wonder that he should have hoped the same of this one. What, then, has checked him? Not the want of soldiers, or means, or excuses, but simply the state of the age in which he lives. The age is like the atmosphere—a giant must breathe it as well as the meanest being that exists. The Emperor may affect to despise the silenced and coerced mob of subjects over whom he rules; but after all, he must act as they think fit in the long-run. As it happens, France does not want war any more than the rest of the world, so the Emperor must suit his policy accordingly. The world is busy with other interests and ideas than those of glory and conquest, and the world will have its own way. No doubt this seems very contemptible in the eyes of young French captains, who class such notions with the vulgarities of trade. But the truth is,

that to these young fellows war is a trade itself; and what has really happened is, that other trades of more general benefit to mankind have got the better of it. The ridicule of the situation is all the other way. What can be more comical than the figure of a gentleman anxious to advance his prospects in life by slaughtering Austrians, but held in by his grocer? After a few such exhibitions, the *métier* of soldier will lose a good deal of the poetry and dignity which it borrows from the traditions of ages when war was both more natural and more justifiable than now.

These are agreeable reflections. But there are others which come more directly home to British business and bosoms. Should we have a Congress (and only some convulsion can prevent it), it will be very much Great Britain's own doing. We confess, for our parts, that we have watched our countrymen's tone with not less pleasure than anxiety throughout the recent European crisis. There was great danger at one time lest they should be caught in the Franco-Sardinian trap, and by engaging in a thoughtless cry of "sympathy with Italy," should forward the ambition of the only Power in the world whose ambition directly threatens them. Of course there is plenty of sympathy with all who suffer in this country; but, before acting, we like to know the nature and degree of the suffering, and also the nature and operation of the proposed remedy. We saw Italy, indeed, affected by what appears to be a chronic complaint of hers—foreign government in one part and misgovernment everywhere. For this complaint a foreign doctor was to be called in, who, if he did not intensify the existing disease by a failure to cure it, would probably open up new wounds in the patient by his own treatment. So, at the risk of our reputation for sympathy, we fell back upon common sense. We steadily set our faces against the whole French policy in Italy, not from love of Austria, but from fear that something worse than Austria's Italian government might befall Europe. That we feel for Italians, individually and morally, is abundantly shown by our treatment

of the Neapolitan exiles at this very moment. But though we may relieve the sufferers from tyranny, or bring our influence to bear to mitigate the tyranny of an individual, it is no part of our duty to improve the political state of the world generally. We should not tolerate—we do not tolerate—foreign interference with our own government; and we have no right to practise it anywhere else.

Probably there mingled with the general sense of these truths, and of the paramount necessity of peace generally, a feeling that the time had come to indicate to the French Emperor this country's sense that he had presumed too far on the Alliance happily subsisting between the nations. We were all getting a little tired of the incessant adulation which encouraged him to dictate everywhere, and we have had the pleasure of contributing to keep this within bounds. But no animosity needs to be mixed up with this feeling. There is plenty of room in the world for both Powers, and it is their interest to be associated as intimately as is compatible with their mutual independence.

The bases on which the negotiations of the Congress are to go on have been intimated—perhaps partly guessed at—by the European press. Austria, it is understood, is willing to withdraw her troops from the States of the Church, and to regulate, conjointly with France, her future relations with the Papacy in that respect. But she properly insists on retaining the position in Italy secured to her in 1815—a position secured by treaties that can only be broken with a general break-up of the distribution of power in Europe. Then, as to her particular treaties with smaller Italian states, these she will no doubt adhere to as rigidly, and for this reason, that the right to make them flows from the previous right to a position in Italy at all. One power is a consequence of the other; and if Austria has no right to make a treaty—say, with Tuscany—what can be France's right to conclude one with Piedmont?

If the Powers can agree in the great feature of a mutual



THE PRINCE OF WALES'S BALCONY ON THE CORSO, ROME, DURING THE CARNIVAL.—(FROM A SKETCH BY MISS PRISCILLA PRIMROSE.)

respect for each other's pretensions, the Congress may effect reforms which will obviate such dangers as have lately arisen for the future. What is wanted is that the influence of the Congress should be brought to bear on the practical condition of the Italian people. A Congress cannot meet to do the work of a revolution, but it may do much to remove the abuses which are the pretenses on which a perpetual revolutionary agitation is kept up. Let complaints be fairly made and candidly heard on the parts of all the Powers concerned. Let the relation of the Catholic Powers to the Papacy be finally determined. There lies the root of the evil. A reformed Papacy would regenerate Italy, if its regeneration be possible; and the Papacy can only be reformed by being secularised as a Government. The spectacle of a handful of priests—who are isolated by their spiritual pretensions from the respect of the real intellect of the country—governing kingdoms in an age of the practical character of ours, we hold to be the most offensive anomaly of the age. The Catholic sovereigns ought to have taken those pretensions in hand, and shaken the Mumbo Jumbo régime long ago. But though worried by its incapacity (which is a perpetual stimulus to the revolution) the Catholic Governments fear the bogey-like terrors which its "spiritual" character commands, and which much influence their own more ignorant subjects. We fear that Europe does not now boast sovereigns capable of meeting a position of such perplexity. But still, if the Congress only manages to force some reforms into Italy, and to reconcile Austria and France to each other on grounds of mutual concession, much will have been achieved. The House of Savoy must then confine its attention to its own business; and who knows what it has escaped (without being aware of it) by escaping war?

THE PRINCE OF WALES AND THE CARNIVAL AT ROME.

WHAT has made the carnival at Rome of more interest than usual this year, to us English people, is the fact of the heir-apparent to the English throne having participated to some extent in its amusements. An apartment in the Corso was secured especially for the young Prince, and a plentiful supply of bouquets and bags of *confetti*, stored up, to pelt the maskers with. The balcony on which the Prince stood formed quite a centre of attraction; everybody was anxious to possess a flower or a sugar-plum from the Royal hand, and great was the scrambling to obtain them. The Prince seemed to enjoy the fun as much as any one present, and gave and took his sweetstuff with the utmost good temper. Numberless bright eyes wandered to that most marked of balconies, and stole a glance at the Royal occupant of it, only too happy if they attracted a moment's attention, or caught in their lap a few petals from the English rose.

foreign Intelligence.

FRANCE.

THE grand review held by the Emperor on Sunday on the Champ de Mars, passed over unnoticed by any remarkable circumstance. An immense crowd received the imperial party, and behaved very loyally. After the troops had defiled past, the Emperor repaired to the Pont de l'Alma, and gave orders to the sentinels to allow the crowd to approach. His Majesty was immediately surrounded by a great concourse, shouting "Vive l'Empereur!"

It is believed that Prince Napoleon will be created Viceroy of Algeria. One of the Prince's aides-de-camp left Paris for Nice or Turin on Monday.

Eight hundred French soldiers are at work on the Toulon and Marceilles strategic line of railway.

Count Portales, the Prussian Minister, was received by the French Emperor in state, on Thursday week, to present his credentials.

The "Moniteur" announces that henceforth, in order to increase the guarantee for liberty of worship, the authority for opening new Protestant chapels, meeting-places, &c., will be granted, not by prefects, but by the Emperor, in his Council of State.

SPAIN.

THE dispute between the Spaniards and the Rifis still continues. The latter will not give up the Spanish prisoners they hold until the Spaniards return them a gun which they took from them. The Spaniards threaten to bombard Tangiers. Spain has taken under its protection the Jewish population of Morocco, whom the authorities had threatened to beat to death.

AUSTRIA.

THE "Imperial Law Gazette" prints a decree, prohibiting the exportation of arms, gunpowder, and sulphur to the Italian States. The Customs Union Treaty between Austria and Modena is annulled. It is again stated that the Emperor of Austria is shortly to leave for Italy. His Majesty is to be accompanied by Field-Marshal Baron Hess, by his first aide-de-camp Count Grunne, and a numerous military suite.

PRUSSIA.

INDICATION on the part of the King of Prussia is talked of. It is supposed that a political amnesty, prepared for publication at the christening of the infant prince, will be published on the accession of Wilhelm I., the future title of the Prince Regent. The accounts of the health of the King of Prussia are very unfavourable. The intellectual strength of his Majesty appears to be completely exhausted. His return to Berlin, which had been fixed for the end of May, has been again postponed.

A fire lately broke out in the depot of clothing in the fortress of Spandau, and did damage exceeding 100,000 thalers.

ITALY.

SARDINIAN journals agree that preparations are being made for transporting the seat of government to Genoa, a city which is not, like Turin, open to the inroads of an enemy. The Cabinet of Turin, however, has sent to Paris a memoir in which it exposes all the aggressive acts of Austria for some months past.—The Duke of Modena has, it is said addressed remonstrances to Count de Cavour against the enrolment of Modenese subjects in the Sardinian army, declaring that, as they had quitted their country, they ought to be sent back to be punished. M. de Cavour replied that he could not concede this: the Piedmontese Government considered Italian volunteers as emigrants and not deserters. It would appear, too, that the English Government lately addressed remonstrances to the Sardinian Government, complaining of its enrolment of Austrian deserters: the reply to which was, firstly, that the English Government has no right to ask for explanations on the subject; and again, that Sardinia could not avoid enrolling the deserters, because it can neither send them back, nor, without danger to public tranquillity, leave them unoccupied.—Volunteers still continue to pour into Piedmont—General Ulloa, who defended Venice, is to take service in the Piedmontese artillery. It is commonly reported the Generalissimo of King Victor Emmanuel's armies is to be General M'Mahon.

The King of Naples is suffering severely; the operation he recently underwent has proved ineffectual. Public prayers are to be offered for his recovery.

A letter from Parma announces an unpleasant fact. The Government having heard that some soldiers were about to desert to Piedmont, determined to make a severe example. Orders were given to strictly guard the frontiers, and three deserters were captured. They were tried by court-martial, and sentenced to be shot. The sentence was executed in presence of the troops assembled for the purpose, and commanded by the general. During the execution some shots were fired at the general, which fortunately did not strike him.—A young man, who was crossing

the Ticino to enlist in the Piedmontese army, was shot by some Austrian soldiers.

The Pope has ordered prayers to be offered up throughout the whole of the Pontifical States that the scourge of war and of revolution may be averted from Italy.—According to advices from Rome to the 17th inst., General Gramont has again received a note from Cardinal Antonelli, requesting the immediate evacuation of the States of the Church by the French troops.

TURKEY AND THE EAST.

LONG conferences have taken place between the Ambassador of Austria and the Grand Vizier. One report says—"The English Ambassador has represented to the Porte that if the latter will yield to the wishes of the Rouman people, with respect to the election of Hapsburgs, England on her part will call upon the capitalists of Europe, will found a new bank and schools, and will construct public roads and railways in Turkey." From Continental sources, we gather that our Government, conjointly with that of Prussia, is inclined to consent to Cozca's double election in the two Principalities on two conditions, namely, in the first instance, that a sincere and unreserved acknowledgment of the Sultan's suzerainty on the part of Prince Alexander John I. takes place; and, secondly, that for the future the Wallachians and Moldavians are not prevented from again choosing two Hapsburgs if such should be their mind.

The Ottoman Commissioner in Belgrade has protested against the proclamation of Prince Milosch, in which he claims for himself and his family authority as an hereditary ruler.

AMERICA.

THE President has got over the difficulty of selecting a suitable person to succeed Mr. Forsyth as Minister to Mexico; he has determined to appoint the Hon. Robert M'Lane, of Maryland, to that position. Mr. M'Lane is to be sent out untrammeled by instructions, and with full liberty to recognise whichever government he may think proper, or neither, in his own discretion.

The President is authorised to issue Treasury notes for 20,000,000 dollars, at six per cent. interest.

The difficulty with Paraguay is likely to be adjusted amicably.

Postmaster-General Brown is dead. He is succeeded by Mr. Joseph Holt.

The ship *Vanguard*, lying off New Orleans, was burnt on the night of the 3rd. She had cleared for Cronstadt, and had 41,000 bales of cotton on board. Her cargo is, doubtless, insured in Europe.

Mr. Smith O'Brien had visited both Houses of Congress, and was cordially received.

We have advices from Mexico. A portion of Miramon's troops had been repulsed in an attack on Jalapa. Miramon subsequently arrived before Vera Cruz.

Captain Dunlop, of her Majesty's ship *Tartar*, has agreed upon the following terms with General Zamora, the Governor of Vera Cruz:

"The British assignments upon the Mexican Custom-houses of 16 per cent. for the Convention Debt, and 25 per cent. for the bondholders, to be henceforth punctually paid, and an additional assignment of 8 per cent., to be hereafter increased to 10 per cent., to be set aside in payment of arrears. The Custom-house at Vera Cruz to give to the British Consul an exact account of the British Convention Assignments for the year 1838. The Mexican Custom-houses to give similar monthly statements to her Majesty's Consul. The tariff of 1853 to be immediately restored. (The decree to that effect is already published.) The money due to the bondholders, which was diverted from its proper channel in September last, to be immediately paid. (2,000 dollars have been already paid on account.) If the Custom-house at Tampico fails to keep its engagements to the British creditor, the Custom-houses at Vera Cruz to make good the deficiency. A decree to be published concerning Don Juan de la Garza for his illegal and violent treatment of Messrs. Jolly and Huizón, and promising that the rights secured by treaty to British subjects shall henceforth be scrupulously observed. (The decree has been already published.) The money extorted from Messrs. Hazeon and Jolly to be repaid to them within a month. Mr. Hazeon to receive an indemnity of £500. (Already paid.) The British flag to be saluted at Tampico with twenty-one guns."

IONIA.

THE immediate provocation which led to the prorogation of the Ionian Assembly is now known. They passed a resolution declaring that the Queen's representative is not entitled to take a part in the proceedings of the Assembly. Whereupon Sir Henry Storks roundly told them that the resolution was illegal, unconstitutional, insulting, void, and of no effect. And so there was an end to them. His message is as follows:—

"The Legislative Assembly having, by its vote of the 8th of March, offered an insult to his Excellency the Lord High Commissioner, the representative of the Protecting Sovereign of these States, and having, most irregularly and unconstitutionally, referred, in the proposal on which the Assembly divided, to the 'President of the State,' an officer unknown to and not recognised by the Constitutional Charter, his Excellency declares to the Legislative Assembly that the vote to which it has come involves a principle opposed to the spirit and letter of the Constitutional Charter of these States, contrary to the practice which has obtained for upwards of forty years, and entirely at variance with the regulations of the Assembly itself, which have received the sanction of the Lord High Commissioner, and which cannot be changed or amended without his approval.

"His Excellency can only characterise the vote of the Legislative Assembly as illegal, unconstitutional, and insulting, and as one which can never have any legal effect."

A NEW PEACE CONGRESS.

A CONGRESS, constituted of plenipotentiaries from France, Austria, England, Russia, Prussia, Sardinia, and the Italian States, is shortly to meet in some neutral city, to discuss the Italian question. To this gratifying announcement is added that the Emperor of Austria, notwithstanding the violence of the semi-official journals of Vienna, whose tone would lead to quite a contrary conclusion, has given the most pacific assurances to Lord Cowley. It is even said that he has distinctly promised not to cross the Ticino, or attack Piedmont, however irritating may be the proceedings of the Government at Turin. Finally, with the view of rendering this promise effectual, and of preventing any chance collision between the forces of the two countries, he has even given orders that the Austrian outposts are not to be advanced within six leagues of the Piedmontese frontier.

The merit of arranging, or of proposing this congress, is given to Russia. At first the exclusion of Sardinia and Italy generally was contemplated. Count Cavour protested, and the French Government conceded the right of Italian delegates to be present.

HEALTH OF THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.—"A foreign correspondent states that the mental faculties of the Emperor of Austria are very much impaired. The stab which was aimed at him a few years since by a Hungarian, though warded off by the buckle of his cravat, touched the nape of the neck, and inflicted a wound which has induced other ill results. The first symptom indicating anything wrong was an imperfection of vision. The physicians consulted at once, expressed their opinion as to the dangerous nature of the defect, which they apprehended would spread and affect the cerebral nerves, and eventually the intellectual faculties. The medical diagnosis has, unhappily, been confirmed by subsequent events. The optical nerve was restored, but not before communicating the disease to the brain. The Emperor at times is stated to be unable to collect his thoughts; while his disposition has become excitable and desirous of change. The spread of the malady is feared by the physicians; since, from the nature of its origin, its cure seems difficult.—DAILY TELEGRAPH.

NAPOLÉON III. IN COURT.—There has just come off, before the Civil Tribunal of Paris, trial which is strictly suppressed in that city, as Napoleon III. is, in point of fact, the defendant. In 1841 he sought to raise money in London, by the issue of scrip, based on the recovery of Queen Hortense, his mother's property, confiscated in 1815. Very few of these certificates were negotiable; but two Belgian bankers became possessed of a certain amount. They brought their action to recover the money. The tribunal decreed "that Louis Napoleon in London could not give away what he had not;" and that "by a decree of the 21st of January, 1852, the Bonaparte family had renounced all claims of any family inheritance whatever." Plaintiffs nonsuited.

INDIA.

THE campaign on the borders of Nepal has not yet made any considerable progress. On the 8th of February Brigadier Horsford, in obedience to Lord Clyde's orders, crossed the Raptee in the neighbourhood of Bankee. He was reinforced previous to making this movement by the 1st Bengal Europeans from Beyram Ghaut and the Kumaon battalions. On the 10th, after a short march up the defile through which the Raptee falls into the plains, the enemy's advanced position was attacked and captured without loss on our side, the rebels taking flight at our approach, and leaving in our hands fourteen guns and a mortar. It is thought that the Nema was in command. The ground was so broken and jungly, that it was impossible for our men to take full advantage of their success. They had marched, too, about forty miles, so that they were quite exhausted. These operations seem likely to keep the Commander-in-Chief longer at Lucknow than was anticipated.

In the north-west of India the pursuit of Tantia Topee and Feroze Shah continues as vigorously as ever. Part of the rebels driven up into the desert of Sneakawuttee, and hoping of reaching the territory of Bhawulpore, have been prevented from effecting their purpose, and forced to surrender to the Rajah of Bikaneer. But the chiefs are still at large. When last heard of, Tantia Topee was at Karowlee, on the lower Chumbul, Feroze Shah, with the Rao, at Chindwassah, south-east of Neemuch. Holmes and Michel were in pursuit, and a column from Deesa under Colonel Kelly advancing, to cut him off if possible.

In Berar Sir Hugh Rose's preparations for the reduction of the Rohillas were forestalled, and those rebels dispersed by Brigadier Hill's force, which destroyed the strongholds of Buswunt Nugur and Digrus, and several other small forts in various parts of the country. The Rohillas are reported to be cowed. In the Southern Mahratta country the demolition of forts is also a matter of emergency, and Jumkhundie, Meeruj, Sangie, and other forts are to be levelled.

The Nawab of Furruckabad is under trial at Futteyghur, and March Khan, a well-known rebel in Rohilkund, has surrendered.

In the Punjab the Umritsar and Mooltan railway has been commenced, and the first sod was turned at Lahore, by Sir John Lawrence, on the 8th inst. The Sikh Artillery Corps have been reduced.

In Khandesh Captain Keating has had a successful encounter with 200 rebel sepoys and Bheels under Bheema Naik.

Lord Harris has issued a minute on the Tinnevelly riot, in which his Lordship starts by affirming his belief that the results of this unfortunate occurrence were unavoidable; yet he proceeds shortly after to express his conviction that much might have been done to prevent the riot had Mr. Levinge, the acting magistrate, proceeded to the spot in person on the 22nd of December, and assured the head men of his resolution to vindicate the right of all to the public highway. The value of Lord Harris's minute lies in this, however—it affirms that exclusiveness of caste cannot be tolerated, and that the public highway is the property of the whole community. Directions have been given for the prosecution of the rioters, and the continued suspension of the authorities suspected of connivance with them.

Sir Charles Trevelyan's appointment to Madras is received most favourably by the Indian press.

A circumstance worthy of note in the casual news from India is a violent conflict between two corps of British regiments. The affray took place at Ahmednugger on the night of the 19th of February, between the men of the 3rd Dragoon Guards and those of the depot 3rd European Regiment. The Dragoons seem to have been the aggressors, and mercilessly to have attacked with their swords the men of the 3rd European Regiment, who were unarmed, and nearly all raw recruits just arrived from England. Four of the latter wounded are in hospital.

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT IN DIFFICULTIES.

THE services of the American Post-office must come to a full stop on and after the 30th of June next, unless the President either finds the money for it on his own responsibility, or calls an Extraordinary Session of Congress to vote the necessary funds. At present the department has been left without any provision at all for the year ensuing, because the two Houses of the Legislature disagreed on the matter. The story itself is exceedingly curious.

The expenses of the Post-office department are enormously heavy. The embarrassments arise from the prodigious extent of the American territory, and the distances by which the various States and cities are separated from each other. A letter posted in one town of the United States may bear the address of another town, also in the United States, but 2,000 miles off, and the difficulty is immensely aggravated by the fact that the intervening country may be almost unpeopled. For instance, the American settlements on the Pacific coast are divided from the older provinces on the Atlantic seaboard by tracts of territory so vast that the shortest route from one point to the other is by the Isthmus of Panama; and when a community settles, as the Mormons did, not on either frontier, but in the unclaimed desert between the two, it becomes almost inaccessible. However, all this work must, of course, be undertaken by the National Post-office, and, as the Americans like cheap postage as well as ourselves, the consequence is a very large annual deficit in this department of the Federal Administration. The expenses of the postal service amount to £4,000,000 a-year, and the receipts from postage produce but little above £1,500,000, so that some £2,500,000 has to be provided annually from the funds of the nation.

In point of fact, this sum is supplied at the public charge for the purpose of giving the people cheap postage. Of late, however, the finances of the United States have been insufficient to meet the expenditure. There is, of course, no question about the real wealth and resources of the country, but the actual balance of the public accounts shows a considerable deficit, and various projects have been entertained for restoring the desirable equilibrium. It was with a view, probably, to this result that the Senate, or Upper House of the United States' Legislature, in passing a General Post-office Bill for the year to come, raised the existing postal rates considerably, and sent the bill down to the Lower House, or House of Representatives, with this provision. This House, true to British traditions, refused to accept from the Upper House any bill providing for revenue, or, as we should call it, a money bill, and accordingly discarded the proposal as unconstitutional, and substituted a measure of its own, in which the old postal charges were retained. This Senate, in its turn, rejected, and as the upshot of the dispute the Post-office is left without any provision whatever.

SENATORIAL AMENITIES.—In the Kentucky Legislature, on the 2nd ult., Senator Low denounced Senator Maxwell. Maxwell and others fired several shots at Low, wounding him in the thigh and arm, cutting off his thumb, and rending his shirt. A general fire with pistols now ensued, and Aldridge, a friend of Low's, was killed, and a Mr. Miller shot through the thigh. Low was taken to jail for protection, but the mob broke into it, and shot him.

LORD STANLEY'S ANSWER TO LORD CANNING.—We have reason to believe that Lord Stanley's despatch, which is of date the 9th of December last, was in its original form even more offensive. We believe that on its being submitted to the Indian Council, they in a body objected to it, and desired to record their protest against its terms or issue, but this its author managed, through some point of form, to prevent. The despatch was next submitted to the Queen; and as to how her Majesty regarded it we can only guess from the fact of its having subsequently undergone essential modification. It was not again, however, submitted to the Council, but despatched in the form in which it has been presented to Parliament.—SCOTSMAN.

THE OUTRAGE AT JEDDAH.—By private intelligence from Jeddah, we are informed that the criminal portion of the inquiry into the outrage of the 15th of June has resulted in the decapitation of two of the criminals, the deportation of nine others to Constantinople, and the imprisonment at Jeddah of one who was too sick to go to Stamboul. It has been uncontestedly proved before the commission that the principal parties in the outbreak were the Turkish functionaries of the town; to wit, the governor, deported; his first assistant, ditto; the comptroller of markets and director of police, beheaded; chief of Hadharim merchants, ditto; officer commanding the troops in the town, deported; chief judge, ditto; head of guild of merchants, ditto; and five others of the chief inhabitants, ditto. There is no mistake about the guilt of these people, or its indicating what the Turks would do if they could. The settlement of the claims for indemnities for losses and damages caused by the outbreak has been tedious. The largest claim, that of the firm of Myrialuki, A. d'Antonio, and Co., has been proved to an amount exceeding £70,000. It has been shown that the people of Jeddah, on the night of the 15th of June, plundered about £60,000 of property in cash and goods from the premises of this house, and that the business of the house will be interrupted by the catastrophe. The settlement of the claims was expected to occupy fifteen or twenty days; the business being nearly finished, with the exception of the indemnity to be levied from the town.

away, the latter were lifted almost bodily into the vehicles.

The harness of the horses was dressed with laurels, and the exiles were preceded by an Italian band of music, which played various national airs. Banners were carried in advance. The procession moved through the streets at a slow pace, stopping at the Union Hotel, Cranbourn Street.

Signor Filopanti says that as the procession of the Neapolitan exiles was defiling from Paddington, "a young girl, about fourteen years old, poorly dressed and barefooted, accosted a cab in which was M. Porcaro, one of the lately freed patriots, and put a shilling in his hand, then rapidly withdrew, without giving him time to refuse. She next went to another cab, and did the same thing with M. Fanatano, another of the Neapolitan patriots. A third Italian gentleman ran after her, and tendered her back her two shillings, with thanks on the part of M. Porcaro and M. Fanatano, but she refused to take them back. Being asked for her name, she answered, Mary Stevens. It seems to me that such an act, on the part of a poor girl, is honourable not only to her, but to the country she belongs to."

It appears, however, that these gentlemen repudiate public demonstrations in their favour. They have issued the following address to the people of England:—

"Deeply touched by the kindness which has dictated the wish for public demonstrations of sympathy on the part of your noble people to ourselves and our companions in exile, we trust that our motives will not be misunderstood if we crave permission gratefully to request that the proposed meetings may not be held. We feel that, after our long absence out of the world, we cannot give to such forms of welcome the return which they ought to receive, but that in retirement alone we can, for the present, do justice to the profound sentiments of gratitude which the generosity of England has awakened in us. Not less thankful to our countrymen here for the zealous efforts made by them in our behalf, we earnestly trust that we may submit to them the same

request.

The subscription lists do not need the fillip of public meetings.

Already the Earl of Shaftesbury's committee has collected a considerable sum, and other committees are at work in Manchester, Edinburgh, and other important cities.

Lord Shaftesbury's committee have issued an address "for the information of the public;" and considering how highly placed in the legislature, the law, literature, and the church are many of the members of this committee, their address has peculiar significance. It was adopted on the motion of Lord Palmerston, seconded by Lord John Russell, and Mr. W. Miles, M.P. It says:—

"Sixty-seven Neapolitan exiles, most of whom are gentlemen by birth and education, and all of whom are men of unimpeachable character, were removed a short time since from the prisons of the King of Naples, and were conveyed to Cadiz on board a Neapolitan man-of-war. They were forcibly transhipped into an American sailing vessel, with whose captain the Neapolitan Government had contracted for their conveyance to New York.

"These unhappy men, broken down in health and spirit by a ten years' imprisonment, naturally shrank from crossing the Atlantic during the

equinox, and from deportation to a distant quarter of the globe, where they had neither resources nor friends. They, therefore, remonstrated so earnestly against the obvious illegality of the contract into which the American captain had entered respecting them, that he at last yielded to their written protest, and consented to land them at Cork, where they arrived on the 6th instant.

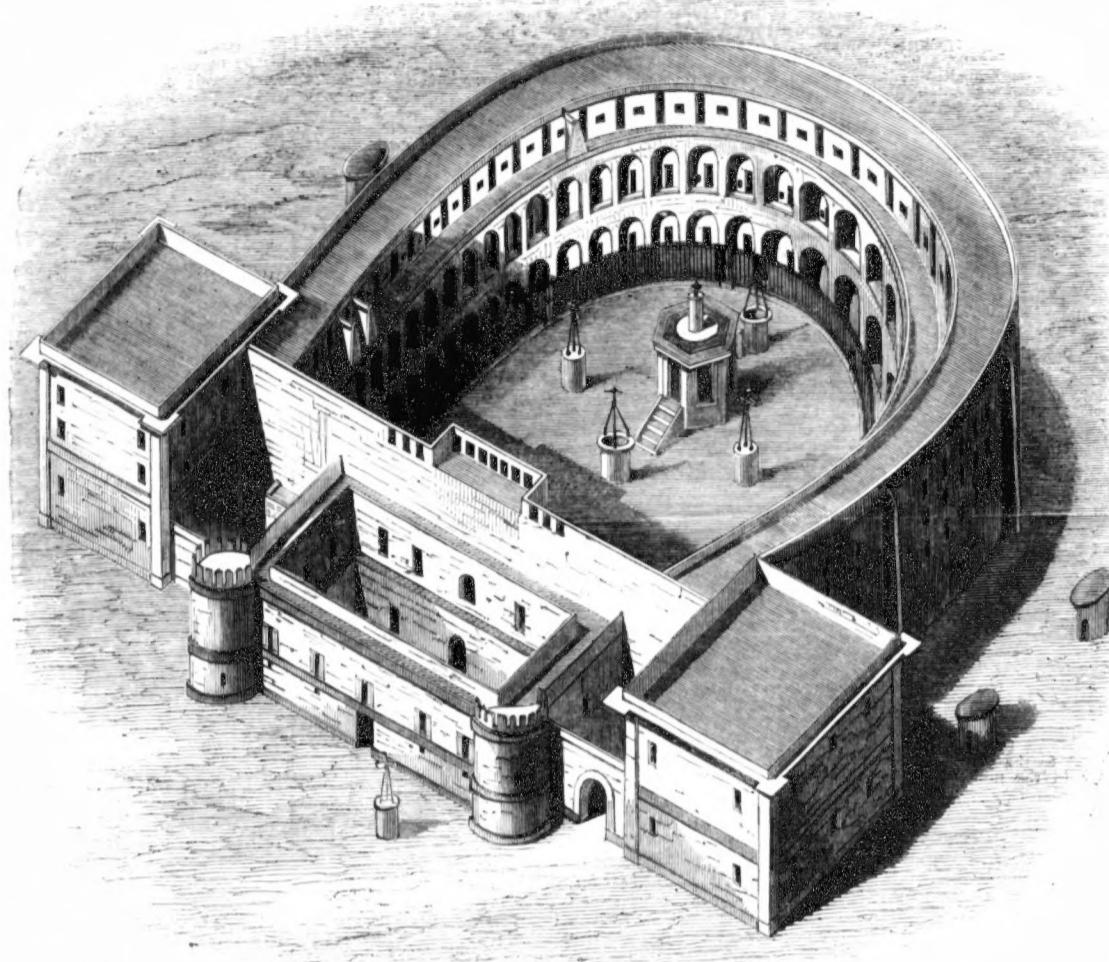
"They are all middle-aged or old men; they are almost all enfeebled and worn by long imprisonment and hardship, some are confirmed invalids, all are ignorant of our language, all are entirely destitute.

"The noblemen and gentlemen who have formed themselves into a committee for the relief of these exiles, wish to collect by public subscription a sum of money sufficient to maintain them with frugality until they shall have somewhat recovered from the effects of the long suffering to which they have been exposed. The committee, then, desire to afford to each individual, according to his previous avocation and present necessities, the means of starting in life afresh, either in this country or abroad, and of rendering available for his future support the talents and energies which remain to him," &c. &c.

Count Poerio was not amongst the number of those who arrived in town on Monday. He is said to be too weak to bear the journey from Cork at present.

men almost with death on their faces, toiling upstairs to them, at that charnel-house of the Vicaria, because the lower regions of such a place of darkness are too foul and loathsome to allow it to be expected that professional men should consent to earn bread by entering them. As to diet, I must speak a word for the bread that I have seen. Though black and coarse to the last degree, it was sound. The soup, which forms the only other element of subsistence, is so nauseous, as I was assured, that nothing but the extreme of hunger could overcome the repugnance of nature to it; I had not the means of tasting it. The filth of the prisons is beastly; the officers, except at night, hardly ever enter them."

The prison of Santo Stefano has room for 1,000 captives, and, as may be imagined, it is kept pretty full. The governor is generally chosen from the warders, a plan which is found to work admirably—since no jailer who hopes to become governor of a Neapolitan state prison is likely to betray any tenderness toward the inmates. The governor is commonly rewarded with the rank and pay of a lieutenant in the army; and after service for a certain number of years, retires with some snug and easy sinecure in a naval or military establishment.



VIEW OF THE NEAPOLITAN PRISON ON THE ISLAND OF SANTA STEFANO.—(FROM A MODEL BY ONE OF THE EXILES.)



THE BUFFALORA BRIDGE ACROSS THE TICINO, ON THE FRONTIERS OF PIEDMONT AND LOMBARDY.

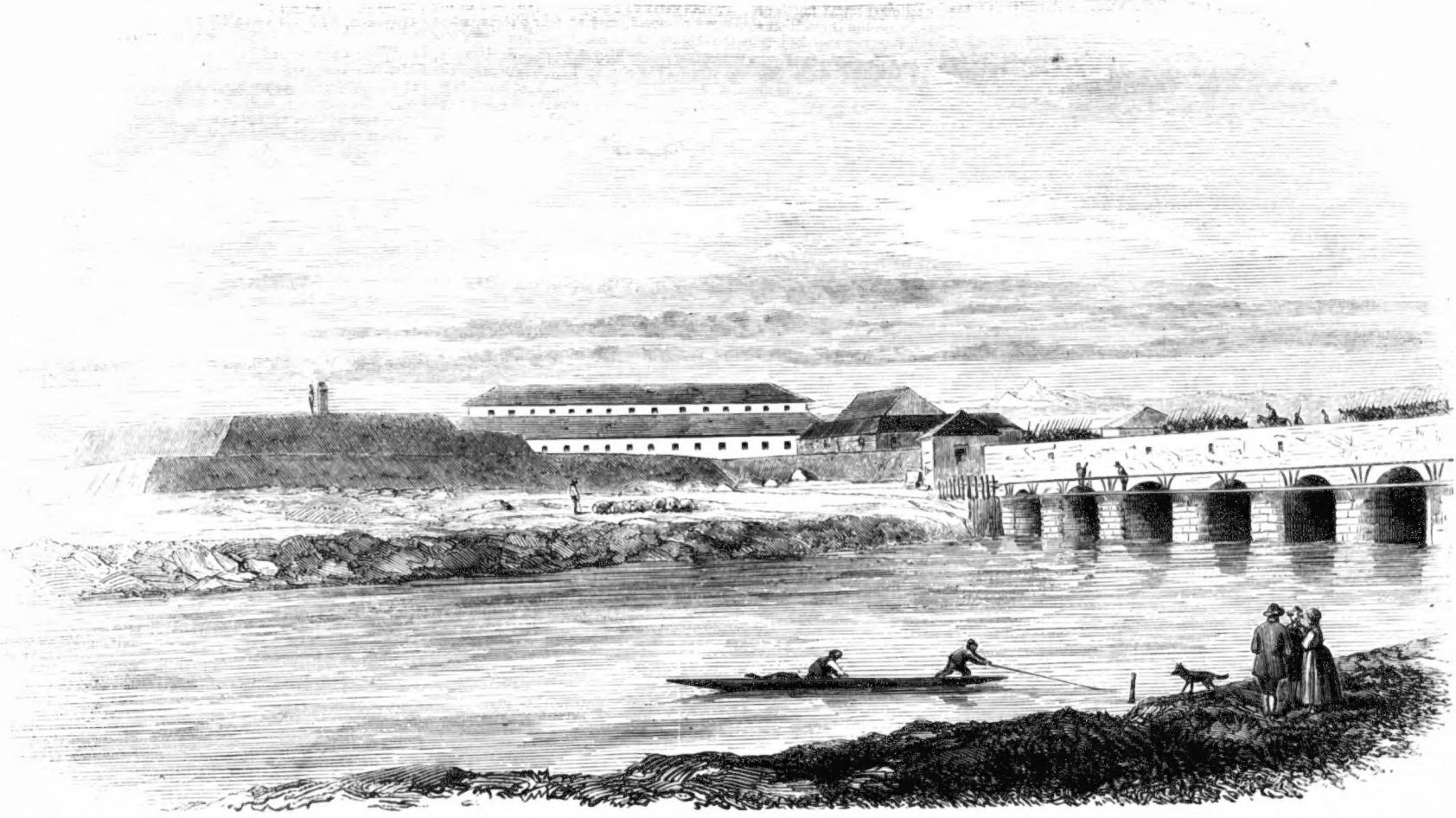
A NEAPOLITAN PRISON.
On the Island of St. Stefano stands one of the most infamous of those Neapolitan prisons which are set apart for patriots of the highest grade, and thieves of the lowest. Here were confined several of the exiles who have so recently found rest upon our shores. Settembrini, Silvio Espervanto, and sixteen other noble gentlemen, passed six years of their lives within its walls—they having previously undergone a lengthened imprisonment in the dungeons of Nisida and Procida. Our engraving is copied from a model made by the unhappy gentlemen themselves, who succeeded in bringing away portions of the model, and have since put them together.

The tower-like buildings on each side the entrance-gateway are applied, one as barracks for the troops in charge, and the other for the use of the jailers and the prison authorities proper. In the centre building, pierced by the gateway, reside the governor, chaplain, and medical officer. The disposition of the cells may be seen at a glance. In the centre of the enclosure stands a small chapel, with lamps about it, and two wells, from which the establishment is supplied with water. The upper and lower galleries are ostensibly appropriated to the political prisoners for exercise, which, however, they are seldom allowed to indulge in; change of air being more commonly provided by lowering them into pits in which no ray of light can penetrate. Here they are sometimes confined for months, ironed, and kept alive by a daily dole of black bread, a handful of beans, and water. Mr. Gladstone says, in his famous letter to Lord Aberdeen—"The prisons of Naples are another term for the extreme of filth and horror. I have really seen something of them, but not the worst. This I have seen, my Lord—the official doctors not going to the sick pri-

oners, but the sick prisoners

men almost with death on their faces, toiling upstairs to them, at that charnel-house of the Vicaria, because the lower regions of such a place of darkness are too foul and loathsome to allow it to be expected that professional men should consent to earn bread by entering them. As to diet, I must speak a word for the bread that I have seen. Though black and coarse to the last degree, it was sound. The soup, which forms the only other element of subsistence, is so nauseous, as I was assured, that nothing but the extreme of hunger could overcome the repugnance of nature to it; I had not the means of tasting it. The filth of the prisons is beastly; the officers, except at night, hardly ever enter them."

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THE CITADEL OF ALESSANDRIA.

SKETCHES IN PIEDMONT.

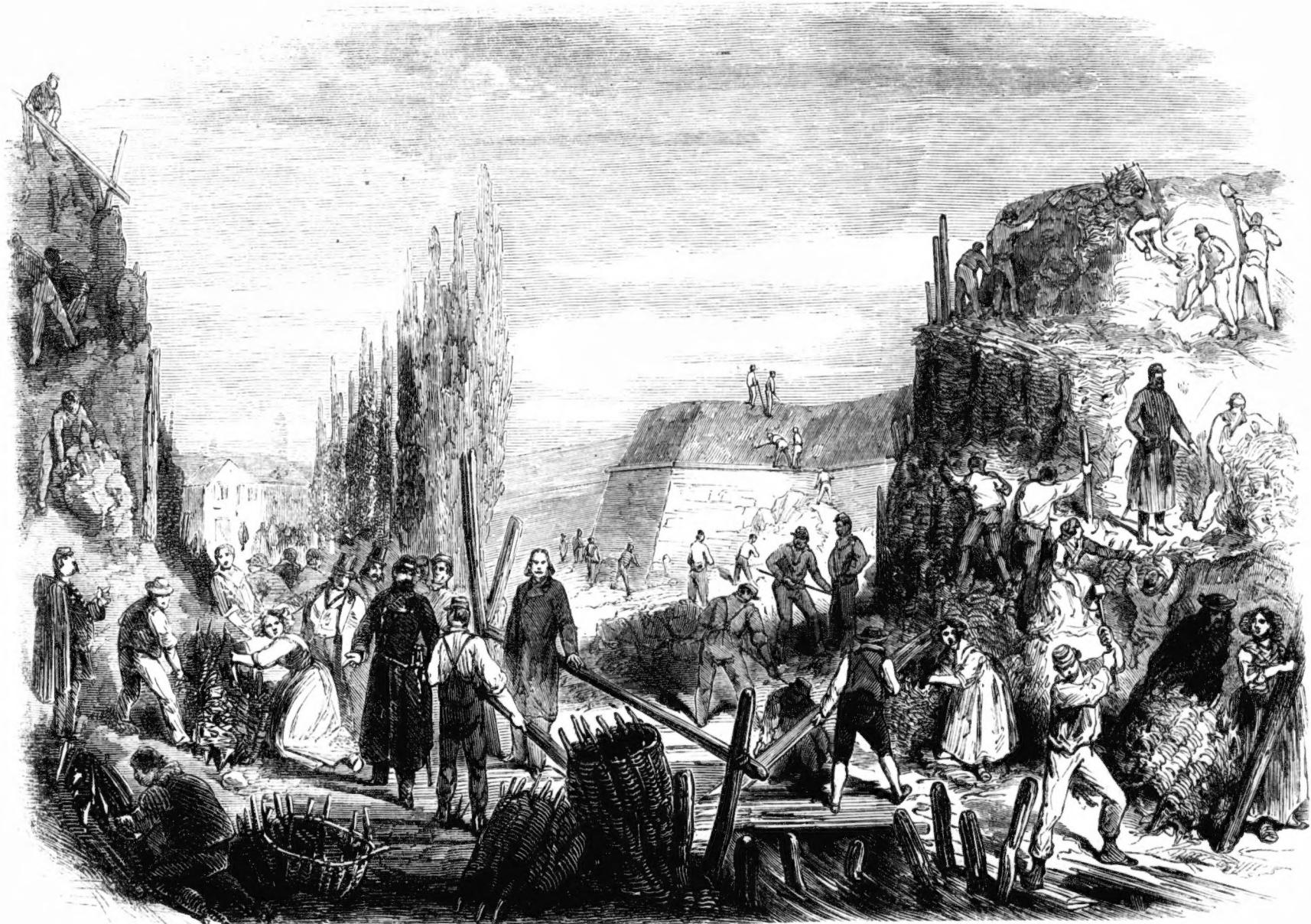
The present disturbed state of Italy, and the attitude taken more particularly by Sardinia, have the effect of absorbing much of the public attention, and interesting it in all that appertains to the much-oppressed peninsula. We have been fortunate enough to obtain the means of placing before our readers some illustrations of points, that by their frequent mention in newspaper despatches, and by the importance of the position they occupy, must have become interesting to most people.

The Buffalora Bridge over the Ticino, is one of the principal communications between Piedmont and Austrian Italy. We learn from the latest advices, that among the vast preparations which the Austrians

are making, they are mining this approach to the dominions of their enemy: so it is reported, and generally believed. This looks exceedingly as if small reliance is to be placed on a peaceful solution of the present aggravated question. Piedmont on her side is not less active in the measures she is taking to be prepared for all eventualities. Every fort on the frontier is strongly garrisoned, and volunteers are daily flocking in to her standard. Deserters from the various ducal armies are coming in, in unexampled numbers, and the youth of Milan especially contrive continually to elude the Austrian sentries on the Ticino. It is strange to see the rival flags of the two countries, floating their broad folds in the breeze, within a stone's throw of each other, at either end of the Buffalora Bridge. The report

of the mines constructed by the Austrians for blowing up this bridge has created great excitement in Turin. It is looked upon as portending a line of action adopted by the Spanish conqueror, who burnt his ships that his troops should be compelled to establish themselves in the invaded country. Does not Austria intend something of the same kind, by blowing up the bridge in the rear of her army, and forcing it to establish a firm footing when the moment for hostilities shall arrive? This is the reasoning adopted by some of the Piedmontese journals, who wish to prove by every possible means the aggressive intentions of Austria. It goes far to show, however, that if a war should break out, it will be of a desperate character.

The most formidable of all the Piedmontese defences is that of Ales-



THE NEW WORKS AT THE CITADEL OF ALESSANDRIA.

sandria, where every effort is being made to increase its strength and prepare it to resist the advance of an invading army. This is the fortress for the armament of which subscriptions were entered into some time back, for up to a very late period it was not provided with a sufficient number of guns to mount its embrasures. The works now going on are pushed forward night and day, and no amount of labour and no engineering skill are being spared to render it impregnable. General Niel, who accompanied Prince Napoleon to Turin on the occasion of his marriage with the Princess Clotilde, visited it, and expressed his entire satisfaction at the measures in progress to put it in a fit state of defence.

Alessandria, independent of its rank as a garrison and fortress, is a town of considerable importance, numbering within its walls a population of 31,000. It is situated on the Tanaro, and possesses a cathedral, some handsome churches, a theatre, an academy, and various manufactories. The excellence of its position in a strategic point of view, first brought it into notice, and it has since been looked upon as the key to Piedmont.

INNER LIFE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—NO. 92.

MR. HOPE'S "PAPAL AGGRESSION."

We have lately had an entirely new element introduced into the debates of the House of Commons. It used to be considered that Parliament was a political assembly, and every measure brought forward was supported or opposed on political grounds. But within the last few years, certain honourable members have insisted upon discussing measures religiously, theologically, and ecclesiastically; and now it is no uncommon thing to hear quotations from Leviticus, the fathers, church councils, and divines. Mr. Spooner, in the discussions on the Maynooth Grant, has long been accustomed to hint at the religious argument, and Mr. Gladstone has not unfrequently, in a distant apologetic manner, strengthened his position by appeals to the dicta of the church; but Mr. Beresford Hope has fairly broken down the barrier, and appeals to the Jewish law and councils, and the fathers, as glibly as if he were arguing before a convocation of bishops.

"He was the first that ever burst
Into that silent sea."

For a silent sea it had become—utterly silent for two hundred years—until Mr. Beresford Hope once more awoke the echoes of that doleful, dreary region. Having the interest of the House of Commons at heart, we must solemnly protest against the change. And if common sense do not prevent Mr. Hope from insisting upon turning the House of Commons into an ecclesiastical council, the House ought to put the attempt down *sua sponte*. For think for a moment what labour this change will devolve upon honourable members. It is enough for them to do to read the bills that come before them, and to get up the blue books; but if in addition to this they must study the fathers, and the acts of councils—those ponderous dreary tomes, bound in vellum, and iron clasped, which we sometimes see covered with dust in our public libraries—why it is easy to see that they must sink under their enormous labours. And surely there is an incongruity in setting such men to such studies. Fancy Palmerston wasting the midnight oil over St. Augustine, Disraeli deep in St. Chrysostom, and Lord John Russell neglecting Clarendon and Burke for Irenaeus and St. Jerome! And, moreover, what possible good can come from wandering in mazes lost in this thick, matted, interminable jungle? Depend upon it, there is nothing there for the nineteenth century. Why should we throw England back into the dark shadow of the past, from which she escaped centuries ago? The "fathers" of the British nation are her own glorious legislators, historians, and poets. Let those other respectable old gentlemen be quietly buried under the dust to which the common sense of the age long ago consigned them. We have plenty of modern monsters to battle with without resuscitating those extinct monsters of the oozes and mire of a former age, which have long since gone into a fossilised state. Very remarkable were those gentlemen in their day, and still curious as studies; but we should no more think of quoting them as authorities than we should of resuscitating a mammoth. They had their "formation" on which they walked, and did what they were appointed by destiny to do; but seas of change have rolled over them, and all attempts to restore them to life must be futile. Gentlemen of the House of Commons should resist this innovation before it gains lodgment amongst them, and teach Mr. Hope that, if he wishes to indulge in theological prelections, with quotations from the fathers, he must go to Oxford or Cambridge, where such things are still tolerated, and not bring his monkey here.

SIR JOHN TRELAWNY

is a name now often seen in the parliamentary debates. The Hon. Baronet is from Cornwall, where his family has been long established. That Bishop Trelawny (of Bristol) who was imprisoned in the Tower by the infatuated James II., with six others, for refusing to publish the King's declaration in favour of the Papists, was one of Sir John's ancestors. When it became known amongst the Cornish miners that their popular bishop was in prison, they were much excited, and meditated a rescue, and it was on this occasion that the celebrated song was composed, with the refrain—

"And shall Trelawny die?
And shall Trelawny die?
Then twenty thousand Cornish men
Shall know the reason why."

But times have changed since then, for the present representative of the house of Trelawny stands forth as the opponent of church-rates. Sir John's place in the House is the back bench below the gangway, where he may be easily discovered by his long light-coloured beard. He first came into Parliament in March, 1843, for Tavistock, and sat till April, 1857; and was again elected for the same place in 1857. Sir John is not an orator—does not affect to be one; but he is an able, painstaking member of Parliament, and one of the most successful tacticians in the House. He is an advanced Liberal in politics: advocates short Parliament, household suffrage, vote by ballot, and other articles of the Radical formula. The Honourable Baronet is also an independent member in the most literal acceptation of the word. Though confessedly not a rich man, it is obvious to all that he came not into Parliament for place or power, otherwise he would not have meddled with the Guards' business; for so sagacious an observer as Sir John must have known that to interfere with the privileges of this powerful body, both in court and aristocratic favour, was to close and double-lock the gates of office against him for ever; but in truth Sir John wants no office. The emoluments would be acceptable, no doubt; but the collar would be intolerable. He prefers to walk into the House his own master, unawed and uninterrupted by the "whips" who prowl at the door. Sir John belongs to a large and increasing party in the House, which the old politicians say, will make stable government impossible, but which we are disposed to say will only make corrupt government difficult; for it cannot be that it is necessary for a stable constitutional government that the representatives of the people should resign their manhood, sink their individuality, ignore their own reason, and surrender themselves into the hands of the minister of the day, to be worked as puppets. Alas for constitutional government if it be! but it is not so. It is not government that is in danger, but abuse.

THE OPENING OF THE BALL.

"Great excitement in the lobby," "immense crowds," "every avenue choked"—such are the phrases in which "the excitement" on Monday night has been described. We, however, having a strict regard to truth, must present a rather different photograph. The fact is, that a large number of people was assembled. Some were down at the House, as early as ten o'clock in the morning, armed with orders for the strangers' gallery. But at no time during the day or the night was there a crowd, nor was the excitement intense. The avenues at all times were passable, and the anxiety to get into the House was nothing like so great as we have seen it on more than one occasion before. It is usual on great nights for the police to clear the lobby about six

o'clock, but the people on Monday night were so patient, peaceable, and orderly that this custom was not resorted to. Inside the House, the excitement was much greater. As early as half-past three most of the seats on the Opposition side were occupied, and at four o'clock, when the Speaker marched into the House, there could not have been less than 400 members present to rise and salute him as he passed. Usually, the chaplain reads prayers to about forty or fifty members, but on this occasion he had a large if not a devout congregation. Honourable members are always more inclined to pray on great field nights, than they are on others. Not so much, however, we fear, because they feel constrained to ask for help from above, to enable them to perform efficiently the great and solemn duties before them, but rather because, by a rule of the House, no member can secure a seat for the evening unless he be present at prayers. At the back of each seat there is a brass frame, into which the member, wishing to secure his place, may fix a card with his name written thereon; but he cannot affix the card until after prayers. In the peers' gallery, we noticed the Duke of Cambridge, and a number of other peers. On the ambassadors' bench, upstairs, Lord Derby's well known features were discernible, peering over the rail, whilst his son was addressing the House; but Lord Grey was not there, although a certain morning paper says he was, and that Lord John Russell, on alluding to his Lordship, turned towards the gallery where he was sitting. Nor were many of the diplomatic corps present; domestic subjects do not draw foreigners so much as discussions on foreign affairs.

PETITIONS.

"Private business" over, the petitions began to flow in, but the number was not remarkable. We remember that, on one occasion, sixteen large bags full were presented, but on this we fancy three of the said bags would have held all these interesting documents. There were, however, two petitions of a most formidable character—one presented by Mr. Bazley, from Manchester, said to have 53,000 signatures; and another by Mr. Bright, with 40,620. The "bringing up" of these formidable rolls excited no little mirth. Mr. Bazley shouldered his, probably to produce an effect, for it was not so large but the Hon. Member might have carried it in his arms, as Mr. Bright did his.

LORD JOHN'S ATTACK.

At five o'clock the clerk called on the "Representation of the People Bill," on which Mr. Disraeli took off his hat, and muttered "that it be now read a second time." Most of the people in the gallery expected a speech from the Chancellor, and were disappointed that he should move the second reading in this formal way; but this is the usual course, especially when the conductor of the bill has explained its provisions on the first reading. At the following stage, he reserves his right of speaking until his opponents have expended their powder, and then he finishes the battle with a grand charge. Somewhere in the small hours of Saturday morning Mr. Disraeli may be expected to speak. After this formal motion had been made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord John Russell arose. He stood in his usual place below the gangway, on the floor of the house; and when his small form was seen to emerge out of the mass, the House became silent as the grave, and, what is more remarkable, it continued thus silent during the greater portion of the time which his Lordship occupied. The Noble Lord drew himself up to his full height, assumed the oratorical attitude which he usually puts on when he means to be impressive, and evidently wished to be so; but he did not succeed: his words fell coldly upon the audience—only now and then did he evoke a cheer; and even when he sat down, finishing with words which were evidently intended to bring down the House—"with regard to this great question, I may say that I defended it when I was young, and I will not desert it now that I am old"—the applause, though tolerably loud on his Lordship's side, was certainly not rapturous.

"ON, STANLEY, ON!"

Whilst Lord John Russell was speaking, it was not difficult to guess who was to follow. Lord Stanley was busily engaged in taking notes, arranging his papers, and otherwise shadowing forth that he was to be the man. Lord Stanley never creates a furor in the House. He couldn't if he would: he wouldn't if he could. Nature has denied him the power. His voice is bad, his manner not good, and he has so little confidence in his self-possession and memory that he writes down nearly all that he has to say; and if he does not read his speeches, he often recurs to the MS. Reading speeches is strictly forbidden by a standing order; but who is to draw the line between the reading off a speech, and mere reference to a MS. for the purpose of refreshing the memory, which is allowable? Lord Stanley is always listened to with respect, and his speeches are worth the attention paid to them; but it is better to read them calmly in the "Times," at the breakfast-table, than to listen to them. And on this occasion his Lordship spoke under disadvantage. There is a general opinion that his Lordship is not where he ought to be, and not in the place where he will ultimately gravitate; he is—by circumstances which he could not, perhaps, control—a leading man in a Conservative Government; but his sympathies, if we read the Noble Lord aright, are not there, but quite in another direction. It was not pleasant to hear the Noble Lord speaking from a brief, like a chancery lawyer. His connection with a Conservative Government is, in popular opinion, a *mariage de convenance*, forced upon him, and not a strict love-match matter; hence a more than usual forcefulness and coldness in his speech. His Lordship is never impassioned, but we have heard him occasionally startle the House—if not evoke excitement; that, however, was before he submitted to the shackles of office in an uncongenial Government.

MR. STURT.

When Lord Stanley sat down, the members clearly contemplated a rush to dinner, but the rising of a tall, slender gentleman from one of the back benches on the Government side, arrested them. The gentleman in question was Mr. Gerard Sturt, the member for Dorsetshire. Mr. Sturt had never spoken before, though he has been in Parliament more than eleven years, and everybody wished, even at the expense of prolonged hunger, to hear what Mr. Sturt had to say. And they were well rewarded; for this Mr. Sturt, whose name perhaps not one in ten of our readers ever heard before, and who has been a silent member for eleven years, made a most capital speech, and for some twenty minutes kept the House in a roar of laughter and cheers. And, strange to say, it was a Radical speech, though delivered by a Conservative member. At the risk of occupying too much space, we will give an extract, just to show how marvellously some of the old Tories are breaking their bonds asunder:—

"He wished to ask his hon. friends in public, as he had asked them over and over again in private, why they were so suspicious and distrustful towards the people?" (Cheers.) For many years past the decent and loyal behaviour of the masses had been the theme of admiration throughout the world. It was said that there was a danger of the people undermining the state and subverting the aristocracy. He shared in no such apprehension—he laboured under no such hallucination. It was because he had faith in the people that he protested against any attempt to tamper with their constitutional rights. (Cheers from the Opposition.) He so protested because he was a Conservative. (An ironical cheer from the Ministerial side.) Yes, he repeated, he made that protest because he was a Conservative; and he would tell the Hon. Gentleman who raised that malevolent cheer, that that man was more worthy the appellation of Conservative who advanced with the times in which he lived, and identified himself with the principle of progressive improvement than one who had no trust in the people, and who, whenever an opportunity presented itself, was invariably found raising his voice and recording his vote in favour of a retrograde policy. (Opposition cheers.)

But though Mr. Sturt approves of the resolution of Lord John, he will not vote for it.

DINNER.

"Now for dinner; it is seven o'clock." This was all but the unanimous feeling of the House as the cheers for Mr. Sturt died away; and in a minute some 400 members rushed out, and left the House to loneliness, and Lord Bury, Mr. Ker Seymer, Mr. Alderman Salomons, Mr. Liddell, and Sir Charles Wood. How these gentlemen deported themselves, we cannot report, for the tyrant hunger compelled us to resign our post of observation for a time; and we did not read the debates. Read the debates! The beneficent powers forbid that we should

ever be condemned to such suffering. To listen to them, and to write about them, is surely sufficient penance for any sins that we may commit, and as we do not believe in the doctrine of works of supererogation, we never voluntarily submit to surplus suffering.

MR. HORSMAN.

When we returned to the House, Mr. Horsman was on his legs. Mr. Horsman, the member for Stroud, the gentleman who resigned the Irish Secretariate because he had a large salary and little to do. Mr. Horsman's speech was said to be the speech of the evening, a very remarkable, very "telling" speech against the amendment, and against everybody and everything that Mr. Horsman might have been expected to favour. Very "telling," it is said, which phrase, however, means "telling" for the time, exciting "loud cheers," "much laughter," &c., but not "telling" upon the "telling" which comes at the end of the debate. No! gentle, simple reader, no speech tells upon that. That is all settled before this. "Did you ever know?" said a young member to an old one, "a speech change the opinion of honourable members?"—"Oh, yes," replied the old stager; "I have often heard a speech that affected opinions of members, but I never heard one that gained or lost their votes." After Mr. Horsman, came Mr. Arthur Mills, Mr. Hugessen, Mr. Newdegate, and Lord Robert Cecil, and then the House adjourned, and we "wrapped our cloak around us," and wended our way home across St. Margaret's Church-yard, where the dust of some old Cromwellians, "life's fitful fever o'er," lies in close proximity with that of Plantagenets and Stuarts, and had our reflections—with which we will not, however, trouble the reader.

Imperial Parliament.

FRIDAY, MARCH 18.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

THE PICTURE GALLERIES.

Lord St. LEONARDS, referring to the proposed transfer of the Royal Academy from the National Gallery to Burlington House, expressed a hope that the claims of the Water-colour Society for assistance and house-room would not be overlooked.

The Earl of DERBY stated that many claims had been urged on behalf of various literary, artistic, and scientific bodies. The Chief Commissioner of Works had invited a general congress of these competitors, at which these several claims would be explained and considered.

THE SETTLEMENT OF OUDÉ.

The Marquis of CLANRICARDE called attention to the proclamations, despatches, and letters which had lately been interchanged respecting the settlement of the land question in Oude. He thought that, from what was at present going on in the settlement of Oude, the Governor-General had not receded from the policy of his despatch of March, 1858; for, although sparingly, yet confiscation in some few cases had been enforced. It seems to be the case, by what tenure did the talukdars hold their estates? The fact was, that the Government of India had assumed the proprietorship of the soil, and that, in consequence, the land was now held by an independent tenure, or, as it might be called, a parliamentary title.

Lord DERBY said Lord Canning had not changed his policy, but had modified it; for, instead of confiscations being made the rule, as the practice would have led the people to believe, they had been the exception. The Government had the greatest confidence in Lord Canning, as was shown by their having recommended him to her Majesty, who had already conferred on him the Grand Cross of the Bath, for advancement in the peerage. In regard to the tenure of the land in Oude, there had been no recognition from the Crown, but it was held under the terms of the proclamation of amnesty and forgiveness. In this manner the proprietors had entitled to their original property, from which they had been expelled in 1857; and this means the best possible effect had been produced in the country.

Earl GRANVILLE, the Earl of ELLENBOROUGH, and the Earl of HENSCHEL having briefly spoken, the subject dropped, and their Lordships adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE REFORM BILL.

Mr. ROEBUCK, having opened the way to discussion by moving that the House on rising should adjourn until Monday, adverted to the amendment of which Lord John Russell had given notice on the second reading of the Reform Bill. This amendment, if not formally, was substantially a negative to the Government measure, and, if carried, the inevitable consequence would be that no reform could be carried this year. If defeated on the second reading, the Government, it was declared, would dissolve Parliament; and, therefore, even in the ensuing session, the House would meet again, have a nearly similar measure brought forward for consideration, without any advance being made on the general question. Under this view of probable contingencies, he invited Lord John to adopt the precedent of his own setting in the case of the India Government Bill, and allow the House to proceed, by way of resolution, to draw up an acceptable scheme of parliamentary reform. The Noble Lord, he remarked, might easily transform his amendment into a series of resolutions on which his bill might be founded. Addressing the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Hon. and Learned Member inquired whether, if the course he recommended were adopted by Lord John Russell, the Government would on their part assent to the arrangement, and forego their bill for the purpose of bringing in another measure based upon the proposed series of resolutions. Were any other course taken, the result would probably be to place the destinies of the country in the hands of those who formed the late Government, which he was not prepared to do, and, in the present condition of affairs abroad, dissolution of the Government might lead to instantaneous war. He earnestly recommended Lord John Russell to forbear from pressing a motion that might lead to incalculable evils, and hoped that no impulse of party spirit or self-aggrandisement would be allowed to actuate his conduct with regard to so momentous a question.

Mr. COX made a few observations on behalf of the Radical party.

Lord J. RUSSELL remarked upon the impropriety of discussing reform upon a motion for adjournment. The Government had, he thought, adopted the right course in bringing in a bill on their own responsibility, and he trusted to be able on a future occasion to prove that his own course in proposing the amendment was equally fit and appropriate.

INDIAN AFFAIRS.

The NOBLE LORD then, addressing himself to another topic, asked the Secretary of State for India whether any vote of thanks would be proposed to Viscount Canning and Lord Clyde for their services in putting down the revolt in India. He did not wish to interfere with the Government in this matter, who were, he acknowledged, entitled to select their own time for such a vote, but he saw some reason to apprehend that an undue hesitation existed on their part to the proposal of a vote to the Governor-General, in inference which he thought was borne out by the despatch addressed on December 9 to Lord Canning by the Minister for India. He had observed with wonder the cold and sneering tone of that despatch.

Mr. KINNAIRD thought that some special mark of distinction should be conferred on Sir J. Lawrence.

Lord STANLEY assured the House that the Government fully appreciated the great services rendered by Sir John Lawrence; but he did not admit that they had not been recognised. He reapplicated the rewards and marks of distinction which had been conferred upon Sir John. A vote of thanks would be proposed to all the servants of the Crown, civil or military, who had assisted in pacifying India, in which vote Lord Canning and Lord Clyde would be specially distinguished.

Lord PALMERSTON said he deeply regretted that Lord Stanley should have felt it his duty, as a Minister of the Crown, to write the sneering, ironical despatch to Lord Canning of the 9th of December.

The subject then dropped, and after a long list of queries had been gone through, the motion for adjourning over until Monday was agreed to.

THE SUPERANNUATION BILL.

On the motion for going into committee on the Superannuation Bill, Sir H. WILLoughby moved, by way of amendment, "That all deductions of salaries, in order to form a fund for superannuation, having been abolished, it is not expedient to add to the amount of the public charge, by an increase in the scale of superannuation."

Some discussion ensued, relating to the official superannuation arrangements in different public departments, in which Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. GLADSTONE, Sir F. BARING, Sir G. LEWIS, Mr. WILSON, and other members, took part. The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER defended the principle on which the bill was founded; and on a division the amendment was negatived by a majority of 131 to 29—102.

The House then went into committee on the bill, and passed several clauses after a miscellaneous discussion, prolonged for several hours.

MILITARY ORGANISATION.

On the motion of Captain VIVIAN, the select committee on Military Organisation was nominated, after some objections by Mr. Macartney and Lord A. Vane Tempest.

PUBLIC CONTRACTS.

On the motion of Colonel BOLDERO, a select committee was appointed to inquire into the principle adopted for making contracts for the public departments, and the effect which the present system has upon the expenditure of public money.

MONDAY, MARCH 21.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

In the House of Lords on Monday very little business was done. A few bills were advanced a stage, and their Lordships then adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE GOVERNMENT REFORM BILL.

On the order for the second reading of the Representation of the People Bill, moved by the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER,

Lord J. RUSSELL moved, as an amendment, a resolution, "That it is neither just nor politic to interfere, in the manner proposed in this bill, with the freehold franchise as hitherto exercised in the counties in England and Wales; and that no re-adjustment of the franchise will satisfy this House or the country which does not provide for a greater extension of the suffrage in cities and boroughs than is contemplated in the present measure." Referring to the secession from the Government of two of its most distinguished members, Lord John observed that it was an encouragement to him that they had felt objections to the bill similar to his own. In

the very first clause, wherein the primary theory of the measure was set forth, a comprehensive measure of disfranchisement was enunciated, upon the delusive pretext of assimilating the county and borough franchise. The practical result of the borough freehold clause, especially with the amendment proposed by Mr. Disraeli, would be so far to repeal the old reform act, disfranchising many thousand electors, resuscitating the extinct domination of local landowners, and affording opportunity for an extensive manufacture of faggot votes. It suggested assimilation of the county and borough franchise, which led, by a strictly logical consequence, to the system of equal electoral districts, which even Mr. Bright had declined to advocate, as involving a too extensive inversion of the existing representative organisation.

From the opinions set forth in speeches by Lord Derby in 1834, some passages of which he cited, the Noble Lord drew the conclusion that if a bill such as was now proposed by the existing Government had been brought forward by a Liberal Administration, it would have encountered the most strenuous opposition from the present Prime Minister. As to the representation of cities and boroughs, Lord J. Russell contended that the bill before the House destroyed ancient privileges without providing adequately for new claims. The question ought to be decided upon the responsibility of the Administration. It was for the Cabinet Ministers to take the initiative and bring forward a measure, but it remained with the House to decide whether the principles on which their bill was founded were to be accepted or repudiated.

As to this bill, he declared it to be an obnoxious, injurious, and dangerous measure. His own advocacy of electoral reform dated from 1819, and while disclaiming all party or selfish motives for the step he was now taking, he relied upon the antecedents of his past career and the success of the Reform Act of 1832 as giving him a title to authority in resisting a proposition which he considered so delusive and unsatisfactory.

Lord STANLEY, after remonstrating the House of the resolution moved by

Lord J. Russell in April, 1833, for the purpose of displacing the Government of the day, and which, when that object was secured, was forgotten, ob-

served that, before they decided upon the resolution now before the House, they should consider that, if carried out, it would lead to this practical re-

sult—that no legislation upon this subject could take place during the present session. No political party was now against reform. Since 1831, bills had been repeatedly promised; but it was only under the present Govern-

ment, after eight years of promise, that a vote was asked to be taken upon the question.

The object of the resolution was to prevent the House from expressing an opinion upon the second reading of the bill; and it was framed ingeniously, so as to catch the largest number of votes. The question it raised was not whether the bill should pass into a law, but whether political power should pass into other hands. That was the real issue. He asked what was meant by the working classes, and what was meant by saying they were excluded?

He contended that many of these classes would come within the scope of the bill, which was more favourable to them than Lord John's own bill of 1834. The difficulty of admitting working men to the franchise was to find a principle of selection. There were two tests—education and a low personal property qualification. Upon the subject of the

disfranchisement of small boroughs, he observed that a large disfranchisement would give rise to the question of the distribution of seats and to other difficulties. The identity or uniformity of the franchise for counties and bor-

oughs was objected to; but unless it was adopted there would always be a dis-

contented class, and the lower franchise in boroughs was carried the larger

would be the discontented class. He asked upon what principle the distinction

between the county and borough franchise rested? The one, it was said,

was founded upon property, and the other upon occupation; but it ignored

all forms of property except real property; the Chandos clause made the

inconsistency greater, and the distinction now rested upon no clear and in-

telligible ground. The bill, he observed, could be amended in the commit-

tee. He believed that, looking at the subject in a practical point of view,

the choice lay between a comparatively small and moderate bill and no bill

whatever.

Mr. H. G. STURT characterised the bill as a specimen of piecemeal legisla-

tion. Being anxious, however, to secure the accomplishment of a satis-

factory measure of reform during the present session, he felt obliged to vote

against the amendment.

Lord BURY intended to vote against the bill. It unsettled everything and

settled nothing.

Mr. K. SEYMER contorted the assertion that the present House of

Commons did not fairly represent the country. The proposed amendment,

he observed, did not touch the principle of the measure, and on a motion

for the second reading it was only the principle whereon the House was

called upon to decide.

Alderman SALOMONS was assured that no reform bill could be considered

satisfactory, or even be passed without danger, which did not give a larger

share of political privileges to the working classes than was contemplated in

the Government measure.

Mr. LIDDELL maintained that the franchise ought to be conceded freely

but not indiscriminately. The selection was made, he argued, with suf-

cient liberality, and yet with all necessary caution, in the bill before the

House.

Sir C. WOOD thought the bill so objectionable in its principles that he

would prefer no bill at all. He insisted that the identity of franchise in

town and county was a dangerous one. Although he did not desire an in-

discriminate admission of the working classes to the franchise, and was not

prepared to make them the ruling class in the country, he thought that,

considering how much they had improved of late years, it was high time

that they should have some voice in choosing representatives, and he con-

tended that the Government measure did not contain an adequate pro-

vision for their admission. The most dangerous consequences would result

from the proposal of the Government to eliminate from the county con-

stituencies one-fifth, the most independent class of voters, and to afford

the means of manufacturing faggot votes and reviving rotten boroughs.

Lord John Russell's resolution left it open to the Government to adopt the

course it suggested, of lowering the franchise in the boroughs and of alter-

ing the provision regarding the borough freeholders, and if they refused,

they would be responsible for the consequences.

Mr. HORSEMAN said the present time was peculiarly fit for the construction

of a good measure; the liberal party enjoyed a large majority in the House,

and could the bill nearly into what shaped they liked, and he warned

all reformers to walk warily, and not throw away the advantages of their

position. This he thought they would do by carrying Lord John Russell's

amendment, which he regarded as tantamount to a rejection of the measure.

He was convinced that the present bill could be rendered as extensive in

range and liberal in its provisions, as any prudent reformer could require

by a few short and simple amendments in committee. With this prospect

before it, he invited the House to accept the measure instead of supporting

a proposition which might plunge the country into the turmoil of a general election. Heavy disasters had overtaken the liberal party through previous

errors in obeying factious motives, instead of following a sound and mag-

nanimous course of policy.

Mr. A. MILLS felt disposed to agree with the propositions laid down in the

amendment respecting the county franchise and the extension of the suffrage in towns. But these points could be determined in committee, and it was quite needless to throw over the bill and frustrate all legislation on this

question perhaps for many years to come.

Mr. HUGUESSEN repudiated the charge of faction, and declared his intention

to support the amendment.

Mr. NEWDEGATE regretted to find himself at variance with the leaders of

the party with which he had so long acted, but could not accept the prin-

ciple of a bill founded upon an equality of the county and borough fran-

chise. This principle was distasteful to members on both sides of the House.

The counties already enjoyed far less than their fair share in the repre-

sentation; and this inequality would be increased by the proposed exten-

sion of the county constituencies by reducing the franchise. As a Conserva-

tive, he was altogether opposed to a bill in which a great principle was

sacrificed for a party gain.

Lord R. CECIL defended the provision in the bill, which he observed had

hitherto found no advocate, for depriving the freeholders in boroughs of

their county vote. The whole reform question had, he observed, been too

much argued in the shopkeeping interest.

On the motion of Mr. WILSON, the debate was now adjourned.

TUESDAY, MARCH 22.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

THE MARRIAGE LAW.

Lord WODEHOUSE moved the second reading of the bill to legalise mar-

riage with a deceased wife's sister. He said that in order to maintain the

present system, an imperative necessity for it ought to be proved, and he did not think this had been, or could be, done.

Lord DUNGANNOV moved that the bill be read a second time that day six months. He denied that these marriages with a deceased wife's sister were either desired by, or prevalent among, the poorer classes. Not one woman in fifty was in favour of the bill, as was manifest from the numberless petitions signed by women all over the country; and their feelings ought to be considered. For the sake of the women of England and the moral purity of English homes, he hoped there would be no legalisation of these marriages, which had for 1,500 years been contrary to the Church, and which would, if legalised, make one law for the Church and another for the country.

Lord ALBEMARLE supported the bill.

The Bishop of EXETER regretted that from his age he was incapable of taking a prominent part in this discussion. As it was, he should oppose the bill solely on religious grounds; for, he maintained, it was a religious and not a social question.

Lord ST. LEONARDS said a worse bill was never submitted to the House.

The Bishop of EXETER regretted that from his age he was incapable of taking a prominent part in this discussion. As it was, he should oppose the bill solely on religious grounds; for, he maintained, it was a religious and not a social question.

Lord CRANWORTH opposed the bill on purely social grounds.

The Bishop of CORK supported the bill, and the Bishop of ST. DAVID'S strongly opposed it.

The Bishop of OXFORD said that his opinion on this subject had been confirmed. He contradicted in strong terms an assertion of the Bishop of Cork's that the bench of bishops had abandoned the theological ground of this question; and denied that the principle of the bill was either to be found in the Old or New Testament. From inquiries he had caused to be made, he was convinced that the measure was not desired by the poor, but by the middle classes; and he besought their Lordships not to relax the laws of this country, in accordance with the wishes of those who desired to exchange the restraints of morality for those of license.

The Bishop of CARLISLE, from his own experience, knew that these marriages were desired by the poor, and not only among the poor but among other classes.

Lord WODEHOUSE, in reply, explained that Scotland was not included in the present bill, because it had not been included in the marriage law of 1835. As to Ireland, he should be most happy in committee to extend it to that country.

On a division for the second reading, the numbers were—Contents, 39;

non-contents, 49. So the bill was lost.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE REFORM BILL DEBATE.

The adjourned debate on the Reform Bill was resumed by

Mr. WILSON, who opposed the measure on the ground that instead of being progressive, it was in reality a retrogression from the principles laid down in the act of 1832. Public opinion had demanded, and public men of all parties had expressed their readiness to concede, a large extension of the franchise. But the present bill contained provisions calculated to restrict the franchise and diminish the number of electors, especially by the withdrawal of their second votes from borough freeholders. He could not accept a measure whose fundamental principle was so objectionable. The alterations which the Government had proposed to introduce in committee in his opinion only made matters worse. The reduction to £10 of the occupation franchise in counties, was, to his mind, simply a method of extending territorial influence; while the various "fancy franchises" in boroughs, which the Hon. Member examined in detail, were, he contended, either altogether delusive, or complete with inexplicable and bewildering anomalies. The bill superseded the most free and independent class of electors, substituting classes most liable to extensive influence, and resuscitated the class which in the first Reform Act it was especially designed to suppress, namely, that of out-voters. He had at one moment hoped that the Government would have accepted the amendment proposed by Lord John Russell. As this had not been the case, he was ready himself to vote for that amendment upon the understanding that its carriage would be tantamount to a rejection of the bill.

Sir E. B. LYTTON inquired, if the bill were taken out of the hands of the present Government, into whose hands would it fall? The inheritance must lapse to a party who had spent twenty-five years in decoying liberal votes and abjuring liberal opinions. In spite of their temporary union, the party were still agitated by the quarrels of years, and if they were seated in Downing Street to-morrow the quarrels of years would go with them. The vote which affirmed Lord John Russell's amendment would practically decide that the Reform Bill should be read a second time that day five years. The resolution was framed as a party movement, and could not be regarded as having been introduced in committee. The House divided, when that day five years the bill was to be read, to a majority of 176; majority, 40.

The Poor Relief (Ireland) Bill was debated: at a quarter to six the discussion was adjourned.

taxes lighter; and if the industrial community better deserved vot s they were also better able to obtain the privilege through the ordinary means of qualification. But although he thought the working classes fully trustworthy, and was ready to give them a fair share in the representation, he declined to allow them to swamp the suffrages of all other classes, which must be the case if they were indiscriminately admitted to the franchise through the medium of a very low occupying qualification. The present bill contained provisions, especially in the savings' bank clause, offering a participation in electoral privileges, upon conditions accessible to every man of industrious and provident habits. Reverting to Lord John Russell's resolution, he maintained that, while it practically cancelled the Government bill, it supplied no indication of the measure which its author would himself propose by way of substitute. Instead of meeting the question by an open and honest opposition, the Noble Lord had resorted to a crafty and catching device.

After a few words of explanation from Mr. WILSON,

The debate was again adjourned, on the motion of Mr. M. GIBSON.

The remaining business having been disposed of, the House adjourned at half-past twelve o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 23.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE CHURCH-RATE QUESTION.

Sir J. TRELAWNY gave notice that he would move the postponement of the further progress of the bill until the 30th inst.

EDINBURGH, &c., ANNUITY-TAX BILL.

Mr. BLACK moved the second reading of this bill.

Mr. CUMMING BRUCE moved, as an amendment, that the bill be read a second time this day six months. The effect of the bill would be to dis-establish the State Church so far as Edinburgh was concerned. Although he was not a member of the Established Church of Scotland, he could bear testimony to the services that Church rendered to the cause of education and Christianity. Taking an average of the last ten years, the sum to which the clergy of Edinburgh were entitled was £10,000 a-year, of which they collected only about £29,500, which showed that they were not very rapacious, and their average income did not exceed £600 a-year, while they received what they were entitled to it would amount to £700 a-year.

Mr. BAXTER and Mr. HORSMAN supported the bill, while Mr. BLACKBURN and Mr. STEWART opposed it.

The LORD ADVOCATE said he had himself prepared a bill on this question; it had been approved by the Government, and would shortly be introduced. The bill before the House he could not agree to, since it abolished the anuity-tax without providing an adequate substitute.

After some further discussion, in which Mr. MONCKEY, Mr. COWAN, Sir W. LUNBAR, and Mr. LABOUCHERE spoke in favour of the measure, and Mr. BAILLIE, Mr. F. SCOTT, Mr. MACKIE, and Lord ECHO against it, or suggesting its withdrawal,

Mr. BRIGHT strongly advised Mr. Black not to adopt the recommendations that had been given him to withdraw his bill, for they had sufficient experience to induce them not to expect that the Government would introduce a satisfactory bill on this question. He had been in Edinburgh city, and he could state that the people of that city were in favour of doing away with the tax, and in the manner proposed by the bill.

The House divided, when there appeared for the second reading, 216;

against it, 176; majority, 40.

The Poor Relief (Ireland) Bill was debated: at a quarter to six the discussion was adjourned.

THURSDAY, MARCH 24.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

THE LORDS sat for only two hours, and were occupied in committee on several bills.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE REFORM BILL—THE DEBATE.

Mr. MITCHELL asked whether the Government was determined to maintain the uniformity of franchise as the basis of the Representation Bill.

Mr. DISRAELI's reply was to the effect that there is nothing in the bill which is not subject to the calm and dispassionate consideration of the House.

The Reform debate was then resumed by

Mr. M. GIBSON, who brought back the question to its proper limits, and treated it with great force and animation. The question, he insisted, ought to be discussed without regard to class interests, and while protesting against any measure which left the working classes out of view, deprecated the attempt to enlist the sympathies of another section of the community in behalf of the bill as being essentially a "middle class" measure.

Mr. ADDERLEY contended that, under the provisions of the bill, every man of intelligence and industry would be able to obtain a vote; and denied that there is any desire for the suffrage apart from the influence of demagogues.

Mr. HEADLAM spoke at some length in support of the bill, and was followed by Mr. BENTINCK, and Mr. DENISON.

Mr. L. KING acknowledged the concession granted by the Government in adopting the £10 county franchise, for which he had himself so often contended. But in adopting his principle, he found that the framers of the bill had spoilt it by the many retractions, disqualifications, and disabilities they had introduced in the measure. The question could not be settled by the bill. Agitation for reform would still prevail out of doors, and annual motions on the subject challenge discussion in Parliament.

Mr. FOX reviewed the objections made to the general enfranchisement of the working classes, and made an eloquent appeal to Mr. Disraeli and Sir E. B. Lytton to say why they had changed their opinions of that class, and why they should not respect the unquenchable desire of that class for political emancipation.

Mr. B. HOPE supported the bill, and ridiculed the meetings held against it, describing one in Hyde Park at which he was present.

Mr. B. OSBORNE amused the House by a rapid succession of humorous witticisms upon the bill and its supporters. Among his best hits was the description of the fancy franchises as "the political millinery of Downing Street," the remark that the working classes are only recognised in the bill as dockyard labourers and to disfranchise



THE
SALLE DES MARECHAUX, AT THE TUILERIES.

AN IMPERIAL QUADRILLE AT THE PALACE OF THE TUILERIES.

We have engraved in this paper, on various occasions, portraits of his Imperial Majesty of France, in the characters of the *petit caporal*, smoking cigarettes with his *jeune grognards* in camp; as a good Catholic, bending himself in humility before his assembled hosts; in the council chamber; on his war-horse; and, in fact, in a variety of situations; but we believe, this is the first time we have been enabled to place in opposition to the *maitre d'armes* the *maitre de danse*—certainly accomplishments of a different order. It has been our good fortune to be present at one of these Imperial quadrille parties, held in celebration of a great civic *fête*, at the Hôtel de Ville of Paris. We are exceedingly thankful we were not then invited to make one of the select party of six, that for a quarter of an hour wandered about in the most solemn and unhappy manner. It suggested itself to us at the time, that however much his Majesty may pride himself on his military accomplishments—to which he makes considerable pretension—dancing is not his forte. His Majesty's movements in the ball-room are anything but majestic; and are decidedly wanting in that ease and grace necessary to become a successful votary of Terpsichore.

The personages represented in our quadrille party are, *primo*, the Emperor, having on his right the Princess Clotilde, and on his left the Empress; Prince Napoleon and the Princess Mathilde are standing together; while Count Walewski figures as the *cavalier seul*.

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ILLUSTRATED TIMES.

SATURDAY, MARCH 26, 1859.

THE REFORM DEBATE.

We suspect that the general reader must have found it hard to know what principle has been at stake in the great Parliamentary discussion of this week. A bill having been brought forward to alter the representation—a bill which nobody denies will add to the number of voters—at first sight it would seem, surely, that the second reading ought to have been opposed either by somebody who had a better bill ready, or by somebody who objected to Reform altogether. It is something to have a bill at all in these times. The power of the House in committee is great; the country generally is reasonable in its demands; and the existing Government has in other and general matters been tiding well over various difficult affairs and positions. Why, then, not let the bill take its chance of amendment, and so secure one step in the cause of progress during the present session? We can see no reason, except that Lord John Russell's personal interest required another course of proceeding. Everybody knows that he is a thorough party man, and that among other beliefs, he cherishes this, that the country cannot be safe except under a Whig Government. We do not doubt his sincerity; and if all be fair in war, all, we suppose, is fair in politics. But though he has done just what might have been expected, the puzzling fact is why independent Liberals should think it necessary to back him up.

We will not go again over details of which everybody is sick. But let us try and fix the real point—the central point—of interest in the whole question. That, as we take it, is whether the working-classes are on the whole recognised by the Government bill or not. Read the meetings, and the speeches of advanced Liberals in the House, and we find that it is on this point that the whole interest turns. The middle classes have made little fuss on the subject of Reform at all lately, and if you talk to the shopkeepers, you will find that, excepting a few who take up all public questions, most of them are contented with the political prospects of their own order.

Now, the Government bill does, at all events, formally provide for the admission to the suffrage of a section of the working class. And it does this on a principle as favourable to them as any other bill yet brought before the Commons; for the lodger suffrage, and the savings' banks suffrage, at least assume that many should be allowed to vote who do not reach the mark of a £10 house. On the other hand, Lord John does not say how low he will pitch his standard, while he is a sworn opponent of the ballot, which many Liberals think more important than the right of voting itself. To follow him, then, while it destroys the only bill we are likely to have this session, affords no real prospect of a more extensive bill, which, yet the Government bill might be made in committee. There is then no alternative, in the event of his success, but a Government formed by himself; an indefinite postponement of the question; and, we may fairly suppose, a succession of those usual phenomena of Whig administrations, which led to the last Whig Ministry's expulsion no great number of months ago. Some families will gain by this, of course—the Howards, Herberts, Greys, and so forth; but the gain of the working classes from the change is not so easy to see.

One fallacy of the day is talking of these same "working classes" as if they were a sharply-defined class by themselves—with nothing in common with others differently situated. But the truth is, they are as various as the "middle class" in their composition; and are of the same stock as most of these, in descent. The use to be made of this fact, by the working class themselves, is to avail themselves of any measure that will raise

a part of them to the suffrage for the benefit of the whole. Some are better paid than others among them; some have more knowledge; some take more interest in politics. Universal suffrage would swamp this section of them, and put drunkard and ignoramus on a level with the highest type of artisan. This, we believe, the enlightened working men feel, and would not thank Lord John if (which is impossible) he were to propose such a law. But, now, what can the flower of the working class do under these circumstances? We should say they might catch at every provision which recognizes them. They might accept the suffrages offered by this Government bill; suffrages which could be modified in their favour in committee; and so, at least, take the "bird in the hand." This is the interesting feature of the affair to them, if they want something practical and prompt.

For our own parts, as our readers know, we think the bill might be considerably improved. We would have used the pruning-knife more freely in the matter of boroughs; we would have adopted a permissive ballot; and we are open to discuss, clause by clause, the details by which the franchises are to be regulated. But the principle of the bill has all along seemed to us to be sound; and so we cannot help looking on Lord John's resolution as a deliberate attempt to make his own interest predominate over that of the general interest of the Reform question. We accept the statement of the advanced Liberals, and say it is now become a "working class" question, and that the success of Lord John can in no way advance that class's political prospects. How many of the Whigs who have spoken in the debates, *have complained of the measure from the working man's point of view?* Let their speeches be examined, with an eye to this, by the working men. Lord John's sympathy is for "freeholders since the Conquest"—a class which no more includes any appreciable amount of the population than it includes the Whig aristocracy themselves! If he has now to go to his constituents, he goes to them on the cry that he may produce a bill at some time better than his last failure, and that meanwhile he has stopped the whole subject for an indefinite period.

SAYINGS AND DOINGS.

HER MAJESTY and the Royal Family propose to leave Osborne on Tuesday next for Buckingham Palace.

THE QUEEN has been pleased to exercise her right to appoint one Royal trustee for the British Museum in favour of the Rev. William Cureton, Canon of Westminster and Rector of St. Margaret's. No Royal trustee for that institution has been appointed since the death of the late Duke of Cambridge.

MISS JANE CLARKE, of Regent Street, Court milliner, died recently, leaving property (including pictures) estimated at £80,000. The principal portion is said to be left to various charities. It is said that Miss Clarke directed that she should be interred in point lace.

THE PUBLISHER OF BÉRANGER'S WORKS, M. PERROTIN, has already received 2,250 autograph letters of Béranger, in answer to his public appeal for contributions to a life of the poet. The work is expected to appear about the month of June or July.

MR. HUME, "the spiritualist," has just made a contract with a French publisher to write a work "on second sight." The famous "medium" is now living at St. Petersburg.

THE DUCHESS OF CAMBRIDGE, accompanied by the Princess Mary, visited the General Post-office on Friday week, to witness the duties connected with the receipt and despatch of the evening mails.

THE SECRETARY AT WAR has issued a circular stating that her Majesty's Government judge it to be "inexpedient" to assemble for training and exercise any militia regiment prior to the 30th of June, and requests the Lords-Lieutenant to communicate this to the commanding officers of the regiments under their charge.

A SERVANT GIRL has been sentenced to two months' hard labour for stealing from her mistress, Mrs. Bates, whose husband is engineer on board H.M. sloop Esk, a brilliant worth £300, and a ruby and an emerald of considerable value. Mrs. Bates's husband was at the capture of Commissioner Yeh, whose cap "fell into his possession;" these jewels adorned it.

MR. GEORGE BOWYER has been abusing Poeiro and eulogising the King of Naples—in the "Univers."

FROM THE REPORT OF THE ROYAL LITERARY FUND, just issued, it appears that £1,840 has been granted in relief, of which amount £1,455 has been assigned to forty-three men, and £385 to fifteen women, of which latter sex nine were authoresses and six widows of literary men.

A HARD-WORKING PARISH PRIEST, the Rev. J. T. Rowsell, who gave such remarkable evidence touching the habits and condition of the lowest of the London poor before the House of Lords' Committee last summer, is about to leave St. Peter's, Stepney, for an appointment of higher value in the diocese of London, which his zeal has thoroughly deserved.

THE PRUSSIAN CHAMBER has granted the petition of three dissenting congregations praying to be restored to their constitutional right of unmolested existence. It is stated as a proof of returning toleration that the petitioning sects are the reverse of orthodox in their views of Christianity and its essential doctrines.

SIR WILLIAM ARMSTRONG is reported to have spent no less than £7,000 on the initiatory experiments with his new successful gun. The moulder and forger who assisted him in his earliest labours have disappeared, it is presumed to transfer the processes of the manufacture to a Foreign Ordnance Department.

THE FRENCH SEAMEN are to be armed with six-barrelled revolvers.

MISS BURDETT COUTTS has endowed the Bishopric of British Columbia with the sum of £25,000, for the support of the bishop and two chaplains.

MR. GREAVES, farmer, of Ecclesfield Hall, near Sheffield, and his wife, died a few days ago, from eating wolfsbane, or monkshood, which had been gathered in mistake by Mrs. Greaves, and mixed with other vegetables in a salad. Mr. Greaves was eighty-one years of age, and his wife seventy-six.

AN AMERICAN sojourning at Naples, having received one evening disastrous news from home, went with a party to see Vesuvius, and threw himself into a current of lava; his body was instantly consumed, of course.

THE BISHOP AND CLERGY OF RUPERT'S LAND (Red River) have petitioned the House of Lords to abolish the rule of the Hudson Bay Company, on expiry of the lease and license, and make it a colony under the Crown; also in favour of free-trade, against the renewal of exclusive privileges to the Hudson's Bay Company.

THE SQUADRON that has just sailed from Toulon, for naval exercise, as stated by the "Moniteur," is known to have on board "all the requisites for the performance of healthy gymnastics on a grand scale."

LORD STANLEY having placed one of the new Indian chaplaincies at the disposal of St. John's College, Cambridge, the appointment has been offered by the Master to the Rev. Augustus V. Hadley, B.A., Fellow of St. John's College.

AT A SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS, a petition to Parliament, praying that members of the institute should be entitled to vote, as such, for members of Parliament, was agreed upon, and Mr. Tite undertook to present it.

A BROTHER OF MADAME RISTORI is about to enrol himself under the flag of General Garibaldi. The son of the celebrated singer Tamburini has also left Paris to join the Sardinian army.

MEYERBEER'S NEW OPERA is now, it seems, to be called "Le Pardon de Notre-Dame d'Auvray," its former title of "Dinorah" having been abandoned.

THE FRENCH BOOKSELLERS' LISTS announce a forthcoming volume by Dr. Liszt, on "The Bohemians and their Music."

MR. JOSEPH WYON has received the appointment of chief engraver of her Majesty's seals.

THE LAST AUSTRIAN CIRCULAR is said to have been written throughout by Prince Metternich.

THE INDISPOSITION OF LORD CLYDE is caused by a kind of bronchitis.

MADAME GOLDSCHMIDT (Jenny Lind) and her husband, will, it is said, visit Leeds in the autumn, and give their services gratuitously at a grand concert in aid of the Leeds Mechanics' Institution.

THE EXHIBITIONS BY THE ROYAL BOTANIC SOCIETY of plants, flowers, and fruit this season, will take place on Wednesdays, May 23, June 15, and July 6.

A RUSSIAN MERCHANT OF BERDIANSK announces the sale, in his warehouses at Odessa, Nikolaieff, and Sebastopol, of 7,351 tons of iron and cast-iron coming from projectiles picked up in the Crimea after the war. This will give an idea of the prodigious consumption of shot and shell in the siege of Sebastopol.

A YOUNG LADY, NAMED MARTIN, who resided at L'Aigle (Orne), lately died, bequeathing to M. de Lamartine a farm, and a house in the town.

ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTHDAY OF THE PRINCE IMPERIAL, say the French provincial journals, their Majesties gave a sum of 100fr. to each child born on the same day, and whose position may render such a gift useful.

THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY has had a fresh addition made to it by the purchase of a full-length picture of Charles I., by Mytens. A companion painting of Queen Henrietta Maria has been recently sold to a private purchaser.

AN ARTICLE on the "Sanitary Condition of the Army," which appeared in the last number of the "Westminster Review," and excited much attention, has been published in a separate form, with the name of the author, the Right Hon. Sidney Herbert, M.P.

DR. SCANZONI, of Wurtzburg, who attended the Empress of Russia at the birth of her last child, has received for his services £5,000.

A MR. WILLIAM SCOTT, surgeon, of Thornley, near Newcastle, and his servant, were thrown from a phæton, a few days back, and in each case concussion of the brain was the result. Mr. Scott has died from the injuries; the servant, though insensible, still lives.

"L'UNIVERS" has merged its chronic hatred of England into a temporary fever against Russia, which, on the downfall of the Austrians, "will completely overshadow France;" "Russia has a Pope, but one who wears boots and goes a horseback."

THE DIRECTORS OF THE GREAT SHIP COMPANY entrust the finishing of the "Great Eastern" to Mr. J. Scott Russell; and it is said that Mr. Yates, the secretary of the late company, will take part in the arrangement. The poop and forecastle decks, which would increase the height of the ship about four feet, are not to be added. Stowage room for 300 passengers will thus be lost.

THE OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE EIGHT-OARED RACE comes off on the 10th of April.

A STRADAVARIUS VIOLIN lately changed hands at Paris, for the sum of 15,000fr., or £800.

THE NEXT COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION OF CANDIDATES for the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, will commence on the 24th of June next.

THE EARL OF DEVON, High Steward of the University of Oxford, died at Shrevenham on Saturday.—The Death of Mr. Prendergast, Judge of the Sheriffs' Court, is also announced.

Literature.

ON LIBERTY. By JOHN STUART MILL. London: John W. Parker and Son.

WHILE we give the fullest force to Mr. Mill's opening invocation over the grave of his wife, of forgiveness for defects in his book which she might have helped to supply, we regret extremely that the most noticeable "utterance" of the last ten or fifteen years, from a very great thinker, should be liable to miss its way to large masses of readers, on account of a *doctrinaire* superciliousness of tone which will irritate the feeble-witted long before the profound wisdom of the teaching can reach them. But after all, this essay is not intended to be, and never can be, popular. Its spirit breaks out frequently here and there in our best fictions and our poetry (a fact Mr. Mill has not allowed for), and millions of people who would be shocked at its implications, if they once saw them *stated*, are unconsciously influenced by the passionate inuendoes of singers and story-tellers who see less clearly, or hint less boldly than Mr. Mill, the thing they feel and think. One feature pervades all our best literature of every class—a cry for more self-assertion, the expression of an intellectual and emotional revolt against the tyranny of society. Who first of all set up that cry in England, we need not go farther than Chelsea to discover; and now that the influence of Mr. Carlyle is less visible (we do not say less), the greatest living thinker of a different school demands in his own way that the individuality of the individual should be co-ordinated with the claims of society as a principle of conduct. In another shape, Mr. Herbert Spencer had made the same demand in his "Social Statics;" but many who would never pursue his arguments through 500 closely-thought pages, and others who would dismiss Tennyson in "Maud," and Carlyle in any of his books as unanenous rhapsodists, will pay some attention to an emphatic exposition, of 200 pages only, from a veteran in logic and sociology, who never shirked a difficulty, pandered to a prejudice, or failed to impress the most hostile reader.

The fundamental question of moral philosophy, Should life be considered as a theorem or a problem? Mr. Mill answers in one word—*both*. In stating, as he does, the point at which it ceases to be the private problem of the individual man, and merges in the universal theorem of social obligation, Mr. Mill says nothing new; he merely re-asserts, emphasizes, and defines. The striking peculiarity of his book is that, though he is, of all men (except Mr. Spencer and one or two others), the most irreconcileably opposed to hero-worship, and Titanic sociology in general, he coincides with our great rhapsodist in saying that what we want now-a-days is more Goodness, even at the cost of less Correctness, more Character and less Custom, more energy and less subservience, more life everywhere, and less cutting and trimming. The reign of crude, personal despotism is past, but the function of government is not yet apprehended in the least, and social opinion has become a vulgar, heartless, old-womanish tyranny. There is a region, at present under the dominion of law and of social interference—a region "comprehending all that portion of a person's life and conduct which affects only himself, or if it also affects others, only with their consent." In that region, says Mr. Mill—speaking in substantial union with Mr. Spencer, and other thinkers of the same order—the individual should be absolutely free. If he is constrained, human advancement is put in jeopardy, the true life is crushed out of the body politic, and society becomes an organised hypocrisy. This principle requires "liberty of framing our plan of life to suit our own character; of doing as we like, subject to such consequences as may follow, without impediment from our fellow-creatures, so long as what we do does not harm them, even though they should think our conduct foolish, perverse, or wrong." Law and society have no right to interfere with conduct in which there is "merely contingent or constructive injury," or "when a person's conduct affects none but himself—or needs not affect them unless they like—all the persons concerned being of full age and the ordinary amount of understanding." In all such cases, there should be perfect freedom, legal and social, to do the actions, and stand the consequences." Vindicating this doctrine, by stating its true bearing, from the charge of isolating indifferentism, Mr. Mill points out in brief the true laws of governmental and social interference. The *law* may punish conduct which "injures the interests or rights of others," and may enforce "each person's bearing his equitable share of the labours and sacrifices incurred for defending society from injury." And public opinion may punish conduct which fails in the respect or kindness due to others. But at present both law (for the most part) and opinion (altogether, being selfish and ill-informed) greatly exceed their due repressive functions. Once there was danger to the general well-being from tyrannous individuals; but far different now is

OUR REAL SOCIAL PERIL.

"Society has now fairly got the better of individuality, and the danger which threatens human nature is not the excess, but the deficiency, of personal impulses and preferences. Things are vastly changed, since the passions of those who were strong by station, or by personal endowment, were in a state of habitual rebellion against laws and ordinances, and required to be rigorously chained up to enable the persons within their reach to enjoy any particle of security. In our times, from the highest class of society, down to the lowest, every one lives as under the eye of a hostile and dreaded censor. Not only in what concerns others, but in what concerns only themselves, the individual, or the family, people do not ask themselves, what do I prefer? or, what would suit my character and disposition? or, what would allow the best and highest in me to have fair play, and enable it to grow and thrive?" They ask themselves, what is suitable to my position? what is usually done by persons of my station and pecuniary circumstances? or (worse still), what is usually done by persons of station and pecuniary circumstances? or (worse still), what is usually done by persons of

ences superior to man." I do not mean that they choose what duty in preference to what suits their own inclination. It does not mean that they have any inclination, except for what is customary. The mind itself is bowed to the yoke. Even in what people do for conformity is the first thing thought of. They like in crowds; exercise choice only among things commonly done; peculiarity of conduct, are shunned equally with crimes, until by following their own nature, they have no nature to follow; their capacities are withered and starved; they become incapable of any true or native pleasure, and are generally without either opinions or sense of home-growth, or properly their own. Now, is this, or is it the desirable condition of human nature? Is it so on the Calvinistic theory?

According to that, the one great offence of man is self-will. All of which humanity is capable is comprised in Obedience. You can choose; thus you must do, and no otherwise. "Whatever is not a sin." Human nature being radically corrupt, there is no redemption for any one until human nature is killed within him. To one holling theory of life, crushing out any of the human faculties, capacities, and abilities, is no evil; man needs no capacity but that of surrendering his will to the will of God; and if he uses any of his faculties for any other purpose but to do that supposed will more effectually, he is better without them. That is the theory of Calvinism, and it is hell! In a mitigated form many who do not consider themselves Calvinists, the mitigation consisting in the fact that mankind shall gratify some of their inclinations; but not in the manner they themselves prefer, but in the way of self-delusion, that is, in a way prescribed to them by authority; and, therefore, by the necessary conditions of the case, the same for all.

"In some such iniquitous form there is at present a strong tendency to this narrow theory of life, and to the pinched and hide-bound type of human character which it patronises. Many persons, no doubt, sincerely think that human beings, thus cramped and dwarfed, are as their Maker designed them to be; just as many have thought that trees are a much finer thing when clapped into pollards, or cut out into figures of animals, than as nature made them. But if it be any part of religion to believe that man was created to be good being, it is more consistent with that faith to believe that

... to be given all human faculties that they might be cultivated and undeveloped root out and consumed, and that He takes delight in every

... such a rough made by His creatures to the final conception embodied in them, every increase in any of their capabilities of comprehension, of action, or enjoyment". There is a different type of human excellence from the Calvinistic, a conception of humanity as having its nature bestowed on it for other purposes than merely to be abnegated. "Pagan self-assertion" is one of the elements of human worth, as well as "Christian self-denial". There is a Greek ideal of self-development, which the Platonic and Christian idea of self-government blends with, but does not supersede. It may be better to be a John Knox than an Alcibiades, but it is better to be a Pericles than either; nor would a Pericles, if we had one in these days, be without anything good which belonged to John Knox.

"It is not by weating down into uniformity all that is individual in themselves, but by cultivating it and calling it forth, within the limits imposed by the rights and interests of others, that human beings become a noble and beautiful object of contemplation; and as the works partake the character of those who do them, by the same process human life also becomes rich, diversified, and animated, furnishing more abundant aliment to high thoughts and elevating feelings, and strengthening the which bind every individual to the race, by making the race infinitely better worth belonging to. In proportion to the development of his individuality, each person becomes more valuable to himself, and is therefore capable of being more valuable to others. There is a greater fulness of life about his own existence, and when there is more life in the units, there is more in the mass which is composed of them. As much compression is necessary to prevent the stronger specimens of human nature from encroaching on the rights of others, cannot be dispensed with; but for this there is ample compensation, even in the point of view of human development. The means of development which the individual loses by being prevented from gratifying his inclinations to the injury of others, are chiefly obtained at the expense of the development of other people; and even to himself there is full equivalent in the better development of the social part of his nature, rendered possible by the restraint put upon the selfish part. To be held to rigid rules of justice for the sake of others, develops the feelings and capacities which have the good of others for their object. But to be restrained in things not affecting their good, by their mere displeasure, develops nothing valuable, except such force of character as may unfold itself in resisting the restraint. If acquiesced in, it dulls and blunts the whole nature. To give any fair play to the nature of each, it is essential that different persons should be allowed to lead different lives. In proportion at this latitude has been exercised in any age, has that age been note-worthy to posterity. Even despotism does not produce its worst effects, as long as individuality exists under it; and whatever crushes individuality is despotism, by whatever name it may be called, and whether it professes to be enforcing the will of God or the injunctions of men."

By a lax use of the word Calvinism, which would be unpardonable in exact a writer, if laxity in theological terms were not frequent with his peers, Mr. Mill has here almost fatalised his own meaning.

The real objection offered is not here, we take it, to the Calvinistic theory of life distinctively—as one of our contemporaries has supposed, or pretended to suppose; but against any purely theoretic conception of life whatsoever. Mr. Mill would resent the treatment

of human life as a pure theorem from any point of view. "I refuse"—he, and all such thinkers, would say, "I refuse all prescription of conduct from without; the test of a true law is that it cover all the facts, and coincide with the highest development of the nature upon which it is imposed." Now, we are not taking sides; our office is simply expository; but it is no answer to Mr. Mill to say, what is notorious, that Calvinists, and professed observers of an imposed Divine law, have ever been remarkable for energy of character. Very likely, but one may energetically cultivate half his nature and trample out the rest. That, says Mr. Mill, is done; that is the very charge he brings. Now, for doing this, "Calvinism," and all orthodox creeds, urge the plea of radical human corruption. This plea, to be sure, Mr. Mill and his school peremptorily reject; but they would say, over and above, when any theocratic conception of life is urged, (even without the doctrine of human corruption)—"We deny that 'duty' provides for the whole of life; we deny that it takes in the very pith and life of life. What is 'duty' to art in its inspiration? what to live at flood-tide? Let it stand sentinel at the door, and its function is done; let it enter once, and we have criminal repression and interference; and that 'reflection which is disease'." And so the teacher of hero-worship, and the contemner of it, meet at last at the same point—a little encounter which will surprise no student of philosophy, we suppose.

Modern society is not, however, so dead and destitute of characteristic and antagonistic life as Mr. Mill supposes. Else, we should not have had his book; or, at least, it would not have found a public. To refer to some of his own illustrative topics, we have not yet got a Maine Liquor Law; we have not yet got a public opinion (as Mr. Bingham observed when an unfortunate was brought up) which will allow a woman to be imprisoned for "accosting" a "gentleman" in the streets. In point of fact, we have both too much law, and too much licence. Our limits will not permit us to follow Mr. Mill through his incidental treatment of such questions as those of divorce, in the law of which he contends, with Humboldt, that the greatest freedom consistent with the support of children should be permitted; and education, as to which he holds that the State should insist, by imposing examinations at stated ages, upon some education for its members, leaving parents to provide it, and determine, within given limits, its quality and complexion. But having indicated the drift of this very remarkable and weighty book, and hinted its relation to the views of our social condition taken by "paternal" governmentalists and other theorists, we will close with Mr. Mill's last sentence, a grand assertion of—

THE TRUE WORTH OF A STATE.

"The worth of a state, in the long-run, is the worth of the individuals composing it; and a state which postpones the interests of their mental expansion and elevation, to a little more of administrative skill, or of that resemblance of it which practice gives in the details of business; a state which dwarfs its men, in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands even for beneficial purposes, will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished, and that the perfection of machinery, to which it has sacrificed everything, will in the end avail it nothing, for want of the vital power which, in order that the machine might work more smoothly, it has preferred to banish."

Yet it is due to Mr. Mill to point out, in passing, that a contemporary, which has devoted two long articles to his work, has actually made a critical "point" of stating, at length, as if he had not allowed for it—in fact, in assumed opposition to him—the argument from the growing consolidation of opinion, which he has allowed for at page 79!

The Tax upon Paper. The Case stated for its Immediate Repeal. Published under the Direction of the Committee of the Newspaper and Periodical Press Association for obtaining the Repeal of the Paper Duty. London: Ridgway. 1858.

It is a very trite story, that of the prisoner who, being desired by the clerk of the Arraignment to hold up his hand and say how he would be tried, answered that he would rather not be tried at all. We have no doubt that if a respectable jury of ratepaying citizens were at this moment to be empanelled, and were asked how they would be taxed, the unanimous and immediate verdict would be against any form of taxation whatsoever. Unfortunately, experience has demonstrated that the machine of the State, without some considerable revenue to grease its wheels within, is apt to get very quickly out of gear; and as the Crown has long since surrendered its own private property into the hands of the nation, and no longer raises poll-tax or hearth-money wherewith to equip fleets and armies on its own account, we are constrained to allow Parliament to tax us in order that the public service may be carried on and the dignity of the Crown maintained. Of late years, financiers and political economists have been at odds respecting the best means of adjusting the burden of taxation, very much in the fashion of two school-masters debating whether it were better to birch a boy or to cane him. The result has been pretty nearly the same. The boy has been thrashed, and we have had to pay; yet fierce has been the strife between the partisans of direct and indirect taxation. "Direct taxation!" cry one party, "let us know the worst at once. Mute us. We will pay if we can, and there an end." "Indirect taxation!" insinuates Sir George Cornwall Lewis, blandly, and he quotes (13th Feb. 1857) the following opinion of Arthur Young, declaring it to be "full of wisdom, and a most useful practical guide to the arrangement of a system of taxation":—

"The mere circumstance of taxes being very numerous, in order to raise a given sum, is a considerable step towards equality in the burden falling on the people. If I were to define a good system of taxation, it should be that of bearing lightly on an infinite number of points—heavily on none. In other words, THAT SIMPLICITY IN TAXATION IS THE GREATEST ADDITIONAL WEIGHT THAT CAN BE GIVEN TO TAXES, and ought in every country to be most sedulously avoided."

Meanwhile, a somewhat sturdy opinion concerning taxation had been growing up among the parties most interested in the matter—the English people—and had found expression much in this fashion: "Taxes are of two kinds—just and unjust. They are either necessary or oppressive. If the former, we must bear them till better times; if the latter, we must sweep them away. Tax, then, in reason, our wealth, our luxuries, and superfluous things; tax our consols, our spirits, tobacco, deeds and covenants of barter, money-changing forms, and the like. Scrape together, too—though you will not gain much by them—taxes upon race-horses, dogs, game certificates, hair powder, armorial bearings, fancy carriages, and so on. But there are some things you should not, and you must not, tax. Not light—you might as well tax the sun; not bread—you might as well tax new-born babies; not any wholesome food—you might as well tax health and strength; not the harmless and refreshing cup of tea, nor the sugar with which we sweeten it—you might as well tax rest and sleep." And this opinion, sullenly and inarticulately expressed at first, at last gathered into a palpable thing called the "pressure from without," till the law-makers, wakening one day and finding the doors of St. Stephen's groaning on their hinges from this same "pressure from without," relieved the people from the obnoxious imposts, and then went comfortably to sleep, thinking they were safe for the next half century or so. But a small resolute voice began soon to be heard, saying—"Light and bread, soap and candles, sugar and meat, are untaxed, the necessities of the body are almost free; but you have a tax remaining more unjust, more unreasonable, more oppressive, more iniquitous, than any you have repealed. You have no right to lay a tax upon the mind of man. You have no right to tax his knowledge." And that small voice has now swelled into a sound of no mean volume, calling with earnest persistence for the repeal of the paper-duties.

The pamphlet now before us emanates from the Association recently formed among a body of gentlemen connected with the Newspaper and Periodical Press, to agitate this important question. The association, worthily presided over by the zealous and consistent opponent of all taxes on knowledge, Mr. Milner Gibson, numbers among its vice-presidents a hundred members of Parliament; and we hope these gentlemen may soon give further effect to the resolution which has already passed the House of Commons, "that the maintenance of the excise duty on paper as a permanent source of revenue would be impolitic."

The author of the present pamphlet states the "case for immediate repeal" in a very succinct and temperate manner. A history of the paper-duty is given; and it is then shown how the duty itself destroys revenue; how it interferes with the process of manufacture; how it impedes commerce; how it obstructs education; how it promotes pauperism; how it is anomalous, tyrannical, and futile. Some piquant details are given respecting the wondrous ways of that financial Areopagus—the Board of Inland Revenue; the objections to repeal are answered; and, finally, an earnest exhortation is made to all friends of mental culture and social progress to aid the meritorious cause.

We are indebted for a paper-duty, in the first instance, to our glorious Revolution, from whose sturdy trunk innumerable branches of robbery, sinecures, national debt, and the like, have sprung, to be afterwards judiciously lopped off. Many of them unfortunately remain. The first paper-duty was imposed in 1696, and was an *ad valorem* one of 20 per cent. on English, and 25 per cent. on imported paper, pasteboard, and parchment. Its object appears to have been to defray the increased expenditure of wars which arose out of the Revolution. It was discontinued in 1698, having been granted only for two years; and when it was again proposed, it was with the avowed intention of putting down newspapers and pamphlets.

"Towards the reign of Queen Anne, on the 17th of January, 1712, there was a message from the Crown, and to that message there was a reply, which may be found in the journals of the House:"—

"Mr. Samuel St. John informed the House he had a message. Her Majesty finds it necessary to observe how great license is taken in publishing false and scandalous libels, such as are a reproach to any government. This evil seems to be grown too strong for the laws now in force; it is therefore recommended to you to find a remedy equal to the mischief."

"The answer of the House was as follows:"—

"We are very sensible how much the liberty of the press is abused, by turning it into such licentiousness as is a reproach to the nation, since not only false and scandalous libels are printed and published against your Majesty's Government, but the most horrid blasphemies against God and religion; and we beg leave humbly to assure your Majesty that we will do our utmost to find out a remedy equal to the mischief, and that may effectively cure it."

"In fulfilment of their pledge, the House being resolved into a grand committee to consider of that part of the Queen's message to the House, the 17th of January last, which relates to the great license taken in publishing false and scandalous libels, Sir Gilbert Dolben being chairman, they came to these two resolutions:—

"1. That the liberty taken in printing and publishing scandalous and impious libels creates divisions among her Majesty's subjects, tends to the disturbance of the public peace, is highly prejudicial to her Majesty's Government, and is occasioned for want of due regulating the press.

"2. That all printing presses be registered, with the names of the owners and places of abode; and that the author, printer, and publisher of every book, set his name and place of abode thereto."

The adoption of these resolutions was, however, postponed from time to time, and, in a grand committee of Ways and Means, a more "effectual" way for suppressing libels was suggested, viz., by laying a great duty on all newspapers and pamphlets. The fourpenny stamp on newspapers, and the eighteenpenny duty on advertisements, are yet within the recollection of all, save the very young. After this, there will scarcely be thrown in the teeth of the opponents of the paper-duty the objection that it is affected and far-fetched to designate the impost "A Tax on knowledge." The Government openly admitted it to be such, nay, afterwards showed some symptoms of remorse, for—

"On the 3d of May, 1712, the House ordered that it be an instruction to the Committee of the whole House to receive a clause, that FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF LEARNING there be a drawback of the duty on paper used in the two Universities in the printing books in the Latin, Greek, Oriental and Northern languages."

In 1717 the duty was made perpetual, and from time to time it was increased. In 1832 Sir Henry Parnell, in a work on financial reform, demonstrated that the duty on the manufacture of paper varied from 50 to 150 per cent. In 1835 a Royal commission was appointed to investigate the question, and in their report, while urging a revision of the tax (still recording their disapproval of it), recommended, among other modifications, that the existing ate should be merged into one uniform duty of three half-pence per pound, and that the duty on stamped paper should be abolished. Most of the recommendations were adopted by the 6th and 7th William IV.

With one exception, all the late chancellors of the Exchequer expressed a wish to repeal the paper-duty. Sir Charles Wood testified his desire to disseminate knowledge, but evinced a preference for the liberation of bricks from taxation. In 1852 Mr. Disraeli admitted the pernicious effect of the excise on paper, but pleaded that it was a feigned source of revenue, and could not be lightly given up. In 1853 Mr. Gladstone, who had succeeded to the office of holder of the nation's purse strings, said, "he should be delighted if it (the duty) could be dispensed with," and hopefully looked for the time to arrive, "when we shall be able to find a substitute for that duty." In 1858, on Mr. Gibson again bringing forward his motion for repeal, Sir G. C. Lewis (himself a literary man) edited the House by the quotation from Arthur Young which we have transcribed, and declined holding out any hopes for the remission of that most detestable of all taxes—an excise one. On the 21st of June, 1858, however, a resolution of the House of Commons showed that a majority of the Legislature did not endorse the prejudices of their quondam Chancellor of the Exchequer.

How the paper-duty is injurious to the revenue is very clearly shown in these pages. The Excise duties on spirits and malt alone produce £14,772,969, and all the others, paper, licenses, hops, railways, stage and hackney carriages, race-horses, and Irish game certificates, only bring in £3,722,919. If all the taxes in this second category were repealed, it would make but little difference in the grand total, for the increased power of consumption would cause the purchase of a larger number of excisable articles, or, at any rate, of articles paying custom's duties; and experience has shown, that in almost every instance an increase of revenue has been caused by the judicious repeal of taxes.

How the paper-duty interferes with the process of manufacture is very easily to be proved. Though the Board of Inland Revenue, in their second Annual Report (May 12, 1858), declare with sufficient flippancy, that "there is scarcely any duty in the collection of which our interference is so little felt," the practical operation of the duty is to impede all improvements. The experience of facts shows that the manufacturer is hampered by an infinity of vexatious, tyrannical, rigid, and unbending rules, the slightest infraction of which subjects him to ruinous penalties, while any request for their modification, is followed by an interminable correspondence with the Board. Moreover, the manufacturer is converted into a species of serf or *bâte de souffrance* to the exciseman, whom he must help to do his work, "or forfeit fifty pounds;" he is not allowed to open a stationer's shop within a mile of his mill, under a penalty of two hundred pounds; and according to Alderman Baldwin, it costs him in labour alone to help to charge himself with the paper-duty, one hundred per annum. With reference to the use of any new material, the interference of the Board is even more seriously felt. In England there are few substances used for making paper. In the United States there are but few vegetable substances which are not used for this purpose. And in England, if any experiments are made in manufacture from a new material, the trial paper has to pay exactly the same duty, viz., 6-3-10 farthings per pound. It will frequently be worth little more than, if even so much as, the duty. Untaxed, it might bring a moderate price in the market: taxed, it is decidedly cheaper to burn than to sell it. But we may judge by analogy of the probable results, in this point of view, were the duty taken off. Let us take the state of the glass trade. In 1844, the last year of the duty, 6,700 tons of glass were made, and the duty was half-a-million. In 1851, the make was above 15,000 tons, and the value of the glass was £225,000, so that the public got more than double the quantity for less than half the amount of duty alone.

We have said enough, we think, to demonstrate the injustice and absurdity of the paper-duty; but on the time-honoured principle—"Audi alteram partem," we may advert to a few of the objections raised by those who would continue the tax. For the paper-duty has advocates and admirers, even as there were found those to weep over the grave of Nero. These philanthropists say that the paper-duty, however large in gross, is infinitesimal upon a single sheet: so, answer the abolitionists, is the Income-tax on a single day's labour. Again, that the prices of blank paper, printed books, and newspapers would remain just the same: the same argument was used when it was proposed to repeal the Stamp-duty, yet now we have halfpenny newspapers. That the tax is not felt by the public: alas! a sufficient answer is found to this in the 132 paper makers who have been forced into the "Gazette" by the 5 per cent., and the crowd of labourers who have been put out of work by the stoppage of the mills. That school-books would not be cheaper than they now are; to which it is retorted that the 6-3-10 farthings per pound would pay for re-writing them, and then we should not be told as we are in Guy's "Geography," that Leeds, Hull, and Scarborough are the principal towns in Yorkshire. And, most self-satisfied of the arguments against repeal, that the people would not get more knowledge, because newspapers and books will not be cheaper: to which the abolitionists reply—in the first place, newspapers and books will be cheaper, and in the next the amount of knowledge which a book contains depends on the author, and if the book were not cheaper, there would be, at all events, much more money to spend on authorship.

Thus is the "case for immediate repeal" of the paper-duty made out. It is not a personal question—it is not a party question—it is essentially a national question, intimately bound up with the happiness and prosperity of the masses.

THE "SPECTATOR" has discovered that her Majesty's brigade of Foot Guards have solicitors! They are down in the estimates, three of them, for £90 each. What do we pay these gentlemen for?

MARY WELSH, an old woman, 111 years old, was run over and killed at Kildare, last week.

TWO GIPSIES were married in the jail in Gloucester Street, St. Helier, last week. Both bride and bridegroom are suffering imprisonment for having extorted the sum of £20 from a young lady of Jersey, by pretending to "rule her planet," and promising to find her a suitable partner for life.

A GREEK MERCHANT, of Malta, was found murdered in his house a few days back. He had been strangled, and barbarously mutilated. Plunder was evidently the object of the assassins, and we are happy to say they failed in it.

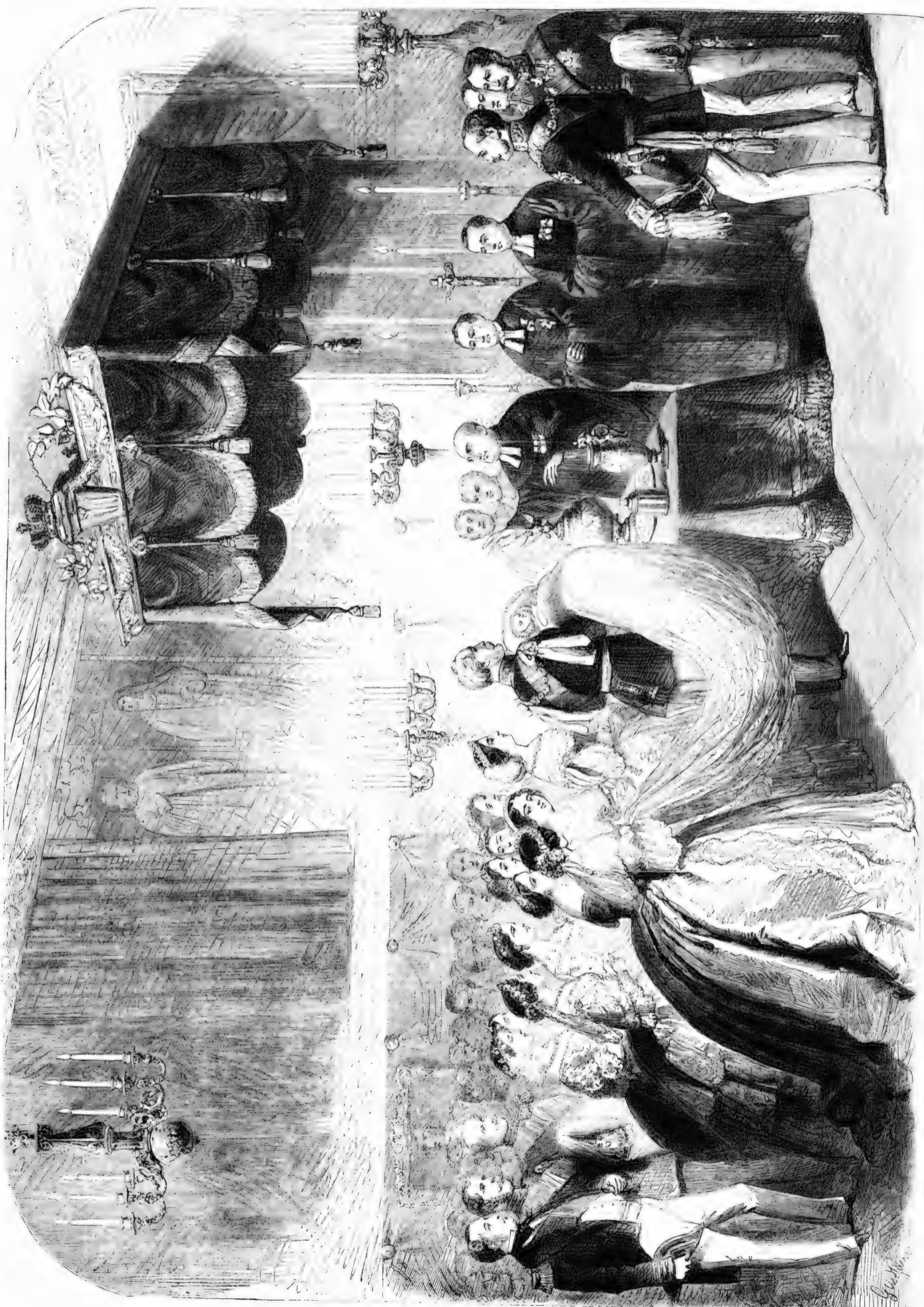
SIR H. LAWRENCE's project of establishing schools in the Neilgherry hills, for the children of European soldiers in India, has been taken in hand by an influential committee. Lord Canning has contributed 3,000 rupees to the work, and Lord Harris 2,000.

A MONUMENT TO ADMIRAL LORD LYONS is to be erected in St Paul's Cathedral.

SEVERAL HUNDRED CONVICTS are now employed at Chatham in walling in the marshes at St. Mary's Island, adjoining Chatham Dockyard, the site of the proposed new steam basins which are about to be constructed by the Government at Chatham.

THE ANNUAL FESTIVAL of the Hospital for sick children in Great Ormond Street, was held on Saturday, at Willis's rooms. About a hundred gentlemen sat down to dinner, under the presidency of the Earl of Carlisle.

THE OVERLAND ROUTE VIA CALCUTTA is virtually closed, on account of the rush of officers and civilians homewards. Not a single berth in the boats of the Peninsular and Oriental is vacant before June, and even the great Punjab, Sir J. Lawrence, is forced to travel through the Bombay route.



THE CHRISTENING OF THE INFANT PRINCE AT WINDSOR.—[FROM A PAINTING BY G. H. MORSE.]

BAPTISM OF THE INFANT PRINCE AT BERLIN.

In presenting our readers with the accompanying engraving, we intend to inflict upon them a portion of the bald accounts of the ceremony which alone have reached us. The illustration is enough to need no description; it is engraved after a careful sketch made at the time on the spot—the portraits of the high personages presented accurately given. It is received that the Prince of Prussia supported the infant at the font; his mother witnessed the ceremony in the adjoining apartment.

We are also enabled to present our readers with an engraving exhibiting the cradle presented by the Queen of England to her grandson.

CHESTER AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY TESTIMONIAL.

The Royal Agricultural Society has been singularly successful in its efforts, and in few places more so than in Chester. It is not too much to say, that the adjoining counties and principality have been deeply indebted to this Society for the many improvements in agriculture which have lately been introduced there. The local committee, feeling this to be the case, have determined to mark their sense of the importance of the Society by giving a testimonial to the chairman, P. S. Humberston, Esq., mayor of Chester.

It is a very handsome epergne of silver, of the Renaissance style, as our readers may perceive from the engraving. Round the shaft, which is elegant in shape, are four figures—the impersonation of the City of Chester, the Genuses of Agriculture, Industry, and Science, each with appropriate emblems. The last introduced with especial reference to the Chester meeting, the first at which the society awarded the premium of £500 for a steam-plough. The base of the epergne has two panels; the one bearing, in low relief, a panoramic view of Chester from Turton Park, the second, a view

of the exhibition yard on the Roodee from the city walls. Below these, in front, are shields, with genii as supporters, and which contain the arms and the inscription. On each side of the base are figures of cattle, sheep, and agricultural implements, artistically grouped. The epergne has been furnished by Mr. Butt, the principal silversmith of Chester, for whom it was manufactured by Messrs. Hunt and Roskell of New Bond Street.

THE INFANT PRINCE IN THE CRADLE PRESENTED BY HER MAJESTY TO THE PRINCESS FREDERICK-WILLIAM.

GENERAL GEFFRARD.

FAUSTIN I., better known as Soulouque, has ceased to wield the Imperial sceptre; he has fallen from his high position. The black Napoleon of Hayti has doffed the robes of state for a garment of more sober colour, and one that blends remarkably well with his own dusky hue. The jack-boots, the round cocked hat, and other insignia of Imperialism, have been returned to the property man; for



THE CHESTER AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY'S TESTIMONIAL.

the old burlesque is shelved, and something that promises more legitimate business occupies the stage. A Republic has been proclaimed in Hayti, and General Geffrard, whose portrait we engrave, has been nominated president.

Towards the end of last December, matters had become so uncertain in Hayti, and the country was in such a disturbed condition, that the European residents became somewhat alarmed for their personal safety. A vessel was consequently despatched by the French Chargé d'Affairs to seek assistance from any French or English ship it might fall in with. On the 30th of December, when between Cuba and Hayti, the *Melbourne* was spoken, having on board three companies of Royal Artillery, commanded by Captain M'Crae. This officer, on learning the state of affairs, consulted with the commander of the ship, and it was resolved to change the *Melbourne's* course, and steer for Port-au-Prince, and afford the protection required. On their arrival they were informed that the Emperor Soulouque had left the town with his army to meet General Geffrard and the insurgent troops.

As the town was unprotected, the European inhabitants were in dread of its being sacked, and accordingly the British Consul took the responsibility of detaining the ship until affairs became settled. The guns were placed in position, and a signal agreed upon in case active interference became necessary. After several days of suspense, during the night of the 10th of January, Soulouque, having been completely beaten by the insurgent general, retreated upon the town with the remainder of his forces, which had been much weakened by desertion. He immediately commenced barricading the city and throwing up earthworks at commanding points. On the following day alarm-guns were fired to announce to the people that the insurgent army was in sight. It is believed that horrors, of which the former history of the city affords terrible examples, would have been perpetrated had



GENERAL GEFFRARD, THE NEW PRESIDENT OF HAYTI.

not the British Consul-General wisely detained the *Melbourne* in harbour, whilst the troops on board were kept in readiness to afford instant assistance.

On the morning of the 15th inst., General Geffrard with his troops burst into the city; the forts were escaladed, and the Emperor's palace was surrounded—the people shouting for the Republic. The Emperor immediately despatched a deputation to General Geffrard, requesting to be protected to the French Consulate, which was granted; and the Emperor, Empress, and family, escorted by three hundred Imperial Guards, who still remained faithful, proceeded to the consulate, where the officers of state were assembled, and by their advice the Emperor signed his abdication. The Emperor having decided to go to Jamaica, the French Chargé d'Affaires requested the British Consul-General to embark him on board the *Melbourne*. Leave was given, and notice sent to Captain M'Crea, who reported himself ready on the 15th, when it was determined to attempt the embarkation through the dense mass of people who had collected in the street. Supported by Captain M'Crea on one side, the French Consul on the other, with the Imperial family following close, and surrounded by the European consuls and British officers, the *cortège* issued from the consulate, amidst yells, groans, and shouts of "Vive la République!" Many in the crowd were armed with pistols, swords, and stones; but none dared attempt anything while the exiles were thus encompassed by men generally respected even by the mob. In this manner, foot by foot was gained along the streets leading to the wharf, was the embarkation safely effected. Lying off were two guard boats filled with British artillerymen, who closed on the boats containing the Imperial exiles, and sheltered them until the protection of the merchant shipping was gained.

General Geffrard was now left master of the field, and he was at once elected by his countrymen President of the Republic established through his agency. We hear, however, by the last advices, that the inhabitants of Port-au-Prince are dissatisfied with Geffrard, who has become unpopular, in consequence of the power which he is commencing to exercise, and in which, it is suspected, may soon expand into tyranny.

THE LOUNGER AT THE CLUBS.

In such a crisis as this, I could wish that your circulation were smaller, that you might postpone going to press, so as to enable me to report up to the last hour. At present, there are two facts standing out of the mist clearly discernible; but all may change before this number of your paper gets into the hands of your readers. First, it is clear now that if no manœuvre or accident happen, the Government will be beaten by a considerable majority. Some say that the majority will reach seventy; but I can hardly think that it will be so large as this. There are 608 members, but I imagine that not more than 550 will divide. Mr. Newdegate will not vote; nor will Messrs. Henley and Walpole, I apprehend. It is dangerous to prophesy—but my calculations give the Opposition majority of forty or fifty. Secondly, whilst I am writing, it is a settled matter that Lord Derby will dissolve Parliament. Of this I have not the slightest doubt, as my authority for the statement is not to be questioned. I do not mean that a dissolution is absolutely certain, but that at this moment it is the determination of Lord Derby to appeal to the country if Lord John's amendment should be carried. That, of course, is all that can be said. The whole political hemisphere may change its appearance before Saturday. With a majority of seventy against him, I apprehend that Lord Derby would be compelled to alter his mind; but with forty only, or even fifty, he would probably venture upon a dissolution. Mr. Sidney Herbert made a strong appeal to the Government to withdraw the bill; and this request would be gladly acceded to, if pride were not in the way, for the bill is scarcely less disliked by the Conservatives than it is by the Opposition. Indeed, I do not believe that there is an independent Conservative in the House who would defend it as a whole. To the county members it is especially distasteful; and no wonder, for if they are to go to their constituents with such a bill as this in their hands, it needs no divine afflatus to enable us to foresee that a considerable number will never come back.

The Mr. Gerard Sturt who created such a *furore* in the House by his maiden speech, is a nephew of the late Earl Cardigan, and a son-in-law of the present Earl Lucan. The Sturt family has large possessions and great influence in Dorsetshire. There is a story somewhere of a young dumb girl, who, under the influence of fear, suddenly spoke. On Mr. Sturt the same miracle seems to have been performed. For eleven years Mr. Sturt has been a member of Parliament, and during all that time he never opened his lips. He is a member of White's and the Carlton, where the surprise was as great when the news of his achievement arrived there as if Mr. Sturt's horse had spoken. A jovial companion, a good shot, a capital fellow across the country, he was known to be; but that he should seize hold of the House just as it was going to dinner, hold it for twenty minutes, and make the building ring with cheering, is looked upon as a miracle. Mr. Bright, however, has a theory that there are many of these "mute, inglorious" members in the House, who, if they were once forced to try their powers, would succeed.

Since the above was written, I have learned, upon the best authority, that the calculations of the "whips" on the Liberal side do really give a majority of seventy. If this number be realised, surely Lord Derby must give way; but of his present determination I have no doubt.

That the annual general meeting of the members of the Royal Literary Fund should pass by without a difference of opinion being somewhat strongly exhibited, is a fact worthy of record. Such a fact occurred on Wednesday se'nnight, when the chairman, Lord Stanhope, announced to the assembly that the committee had received a communication from Mr. Charles Dickens, announcing the prospect of a certain offer to the society from a person, not at present named, on certain terms and stipulations. Mr. Dickens, at the same time, stated that he and his friends would not attend this meeting, it being understood that they waived their usual opposition until the proposed subject was debated and settled. Mr. Dickens and Mr. Elwyn, editor of the "Quarterly Review," were to have an interview with the committee on Wednesday, at which the above-named "terms and stipulations" were to be divulged: what they are, is as yet secret, and I believe not one guesser has as yet hit upon the truth; but should they be accepted, as they doubtless will be, apart from the mere reconciliation of two conflicting interests, the result will, it is said, be one of the greatest benefits ever bestowed upon the literary community.

Which, by the way, is worrying itself madly, at the present moment, about a club. The gentlemen of the press want a club to themselves, a society the shibboleth to which shall be some word known only to those initiated in the mysteries of "copy," and for the furtherance of these views some of their number write to the "Morning Star," a journal well-known as a great literary organ. There is, I believe, a press club in New York, a flourishing and agreeable society, but I much doubt whether such an attempt would be successful in London; a class club is always a failure. The United Services and the Rag and Fanish would be much improved by a judicious admixture of civilians; and anybody who knows anything of the Oxford and Cambridge, or the United Universities, must have pleasing reminiscences of the conviviality and good-fellowship of those institutions. But in the press world such unaccountable schism and division seem to exist which preclude all comingling: I say seem to exist, for the barrier between the component classes is of the merest paper-conventionality. All who are really acquainted with that world, know that the arch-Bohemian, the high-priest of sawdust-floured temples and clay-pipe incense, is to be seen white-choked and sable-mented in the pit of the opera, while there is no better judge of beer, or more fervent worshipper of Burns's cutty, than he who is regarded as the most affected disciple of the kid-glove and silver-fork school. Novelist, essayist, dramatist, leader writer, reviewer, theatrical critic, gossip-monger, I never found one of any position, who did not harmonise with his brethren, when he really knew them, or whose honourable candour would not allow, and make reparation for, an unjust or unkind word—when the matter was fairly and honourably explained to him. And yet, with all this belief, and with

a strong will to be enabled to hold a contrary opinion, I doubt the possibility of establishing a Press Club.

Antiquaries and connoisseurs have been recently discussing a subject, which, if true, must prove of the highest interest to the entire civilised world. This is no less than the discovery of a brass plate on which is engraved in Hebrew, what is called "a correct transcript" of the sentence of death pronounced against Jesus Christ, and which is word for word as follows:—

"Sentences pronounced by Pontius Pilate, intendant of the province of Lower Galilee, that Jesus of Nazareth shall suffer death by the cross. In the seventeenth year of the reign of the Emperor Tiberias, and on the 25th of the month of March, in the most holy city of Jerusalem, during the pontificate of Annas and Caiaphas. Pontius Pilate intendant of the province of Lower Galilee, sitting in judgment in the presidential seat of the prætor, sentences Jesus of Nazareth to death on a cross between two robbers; as the numerous and notorious testimonies of the people prove: 1. Jesus is a misleader; 2. He has excited the people to sedition; 3. He is an enemy to the laws; 4. He calls himself the Son of God; 5. He calls himself falsely the King of Israel; 6. He went into the Temple, followed by a multitude carrying palms in their hands. Orders the first centurion, Quirilius Cornelius, to bring him to the place of execution. Forbids all persons, rich or poor, to prevent the execution of Jesus. The witnesses who have signed the execution against Jesus are—1. Daniel Robani, Pharisee; 2. John Zorobabel; 3. Raphael Robani; 4. Capet. Jesus to be taken out of Jerusalem through the gate of Tournea."

On the reverse of the plate are inscribed the words, "A similar plate has been sent to each tribe." The plate was originally discovered in the year 1280 in the city of Aguil, in the kingdom of Naples, where it remained until it was found by the commissioners of art in the French army in Italy: the French translation was made literally by members of this commission, and a *fac-simile* of the plate was engraved, which was eventually bought by Lord Howard for 2,800 francs. The statement is derived from the "Kölnerische Zeitung," one of the most honourable and powerful journals to be found in Germany, and is therein put forward in all good faith. Even from such a source, however, it must be received with doubt, when one considers the facility with which such a story could be fabricated, the difficulty of tracking its origin, and the temptation held out by the enormous sale which duplicates and photographic reproductions of the plate would undoubtedly find. It is to be trusted that some antiquary of undeniably position will take the matter in hand.

As the day for "sending in" to the Academy approaches, the rumours acent the productions of the *diplomates* of art become stronger and more frequent. Among the exhibitors will be Messrs. Stanfield, Roberts, Elmore, Hook, Frith, Phillips, Ansdell, Solomon, Egg, Wallis, and Millais. The last-named gentleman will have two or three pictures. One, from which great things are expected, is the representation of an orchard in full bloom, upon which the artist has laboured for three successive springs. There is also a large picture, the subject of which is understood to be a nunnery-garden in the full moonlight, with the nuns digging their graves.

THE GROSS TOTAL NUMBER OF "IMMIGRANTS AND LIBERATED AFRICANS" introduced into the West India Colonies from the year 1845 to the end of 1858 (so far as known) amounted to 59,077, including 5,917 last year, 5,325 in 1857, 3,199 in 1856, 3,900 in 1855, and 3,902 in 1854.

THE SOUTH-EASTERN RAILWAY COMPANY, under an engagement with her Majesty's Government, have commenced operations for laying down an immediate extension of their line of rails from Plumstead to Woolwich Arsenal.

IN THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT, a petition has been presented for an act of incorporation for a company to connect America by a submarine telegraph with England via Greenland and Iceland, through the Faroe Islands.

THE NEGRO MARKET is lively in Georgia; good slaves "in demand," and prices unusually high. The Savannah "Republican" says that at a sale in that city last week, "prime young men" brought 1,250 dollars to 1,350 dollars a piece; a family of six was sold for 6,025 dollars.

A POOR WOMAN, in Burton Street, gave birth to three children lately. Her Majesty has made her a present of three pounds, and has made frequent inquiries as to her health. We also learn that the poor mother has received from various hands as much wine as would satisfy the bravest wine-bibber in Christendom, and the quantity of baby-linen sent in would clothe the inmates of a dozen nurseries.

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT has received news from China that the Emperor has refused to ratify that clause of the treaty of Tien-tsin which refers to facilities for the extension of the opium trade.

MISS VICTORIA BALFE has been engaged for the approaching season of Italian opera at Drury Lane, and will first appear in "La Sonnambula," supported by the new tenor, Signor Mongini, as Elvino.

THE ILLNESS OF THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER continues to be very serious. With the single exception of the Arch-Deacon of Armagh, Dr. Murray is the oldest bishop of the episcopal bench, having been consecrated Bishop of Sodor and Man in 1813, and translated to the see of Rochester in 1827.

INJURED INNOCENCE.—Col. Waugh has written a letter to the "Times," dating from "near Marseilles, March 10, 1859," declaring his intention to return to London for the purpose of prosecuting that journal. "In giving vent," he says, "to your vindictive feelings you have far outstepped the bounds of fair and legitimate criticism, and have again laid yourself open to legal proceedings, which I now pledge myself to adopt—as soon as my state of health will admit."

THE COALWHIPPERS' GRIEVANCES.—A large meeting of coalwhippers was held last week in Whitechapel. It is known that these men were formerly hired at public-houses and paid at public-houses; and that the system was an intolerable grievance and hardship to the men. Mr. Gladstone passed an act opening a parliamentary office which operated as the middleman between the employers and employed. This beneficial act expired in 1856, and the coal-owners promised to open and support an office of their own, which should perform the same functions as the old office. But this it has not done. The trade has fallen back into its old channels, and the publican and middleman are again in the ascendant. In short, "the compulsory drinking system" is once more in full force. The remedy sought is in a revival of the Coalwhippers' Act; and Lord Kinvara has introduced a bill for that purpose into the House of Lords. He attended the meeting, and declared his full sympathy with their objects. Some coalwhippers made extremely creditable and moderate speeches in support of their cause.

RAILWAY LABOUR.—The total number of persons employed in the open railways of the United Kingdom in 1858 was 109,329. The most numerous class of employees are labourers, 21,000 of the 109,329 being men of this description; artificers are the next most extensive class, numbering 21,000; porters, &c., are 17,000 in number; engine-drivers, 3,500, with about the same number of assistants; secretaries are 241 in number, treasurers 38. The men employed on the unopened railways are of course more generally belonging to the inferior classes, 31,000, out of a total of 38,000, in the whole United Kingdom, being labourers. Although not possessing absolutely the greatest length of railway, the North-Western Company employ by far the greater number of persons, the total number being 12,535. The Great Western comes next in this respect, and employs 8,094. The inferiority of this number to the one first mentioned is in much greater proportion than that borne by the mileage of the two lines, which are respectively 638 and 531, but the fact is accounted for by the greater number of stations on the North-Western—339, while the Great Western has only 153.

LOSSES AT SEA.—The "Veritas," of Antwerp, gives some very curious information about the number of shipwrecks which have taken place all over the world, since the year 1852. In this account, the number of merchant vessels afoul all over the globe is set down approximately at 30,000, and it is stated that of this number there were lost in 1852 1,850 vessels, or about 6 per cent.; in 1853, 1,610, 5 per cent.; in 1854, 2,120, 7 per cent.; in 1855, 2,000, 6 per cent.; in 1856, 2,130, 7 per cent.; in 1857, 2,230, 7 per cent.; in 1858, 3,730, 10 per cent. It is not understood that all ships entered in this list were totally destroyed; but only that the whole of them suffered such damages as made them unfit for further use. Of the 3,730 vessels lost during the last year, 151 were "never heard of," which probably means that they went to the bottom of the sea, with not a man escaping; and 72 were burnt. Steamers seem on the whole to be more liable to damage and destruction than sailing vessels, for in the year 1854, there were 90 steamships wholly lost; in 1855, 107; in 1856, 92; in 1857, 104; and finally, during the last year, 113. As might be expected, the Americans stand at the head of this vast list of maritime disasters. Of the 72 above-mentioned conflagrations at sea, or on rivers and lakes, the United States were represented by 27, England by 9, and France by 8 vessels, and the rest divided among the other nations. There were in the year 1858, more than 1,000 collisions among vessels, by which more or less damage was done; and it is a remarkable fact that, like all the rest of maritime disasters, the number of these accidents has increased from year to year during the last decennial period, there having been only 588 in 1853. Even if deduction is made from these increasing losses, on account of the increase of vessels, yet these statistics are still alarming enough.

LAW AND CRIME.

THE PRESENT LORD MAYOR seems to have unfortunately resolved to follow in the course which rendered the last days of his predecessor's domination obnoxious to the public. His present Lordship appears to have taken up the persecution of the poor street-sellers just at the point at which Sir R. W. Corden was compelled, by the universal voice of the press, to drop it. Sir R. W. Corden, perhaps, stopped short of absolute illegality. We refer our readers to our police report of a charge against Mary Ann Donovan, an Irish girl of eighteen, as regards obstructing the footway, by offering combs for sale. For this offence she was taken into custody. The Police Act, 2 and 3 Vic., cap. 47, sec. 60, which prohibits the exhibition of anything for sale upon any carriage-way or foot-way, "so as to cause any annoyance or obstruction in any thoroughfare" (a provision, by the way, obviously levelled at encroaching shop-keepers), authorises any constable to arrest any offender against this provision only if the name and residence of the offender be unknown to and unascertainable by such constable. There is no proof whatever, in the case of Mary Donovan, that the constable could not ascertain her address had he chosen so to do. Again, the only proof offered of the obstruction is the opinion of the constable himself. The punishment is by the act expressly limited to a fine not exceeding forty shillings, and imprisonment is only authorised (sec. 77) in the event of nonpayment of the fine. It does not appear by the report, which we give in full, that Mary Donovan was fined at all. If not, her imprisonment is utterly illegal. At the same time, we can only regret that it should be necessary to direct attention to the fact of the mere illegality of a commitment under such circumstances. The illegality sinks into insignificance, in comparison with the injustice and the moral wrong of sentencing a girl to prison for endeavouring to sell combs in the street. It is to be noted, also, that this girl makes a distinct charge of brutality against the police-constable, and this is unnoticed by the magistrate. The unprovoked severity of the sentence is best shown by comparison with another judgment by the same authority. Edward Dawson, aged eighteen, went up to a policeman in the street, said he was waiting to give the constable a good lifting, struck him violently, and, after a struggle, in which the policeman's coat was torn, struck him again in the mouth. The only provocation given, was that the policeman had prevented Dawson from fighting in the street. For this assault Dawson was fined ten shillings. Really, on reading the case of Mary Donovan, it appears as if the worthy Lord Mayor had been rendered angry by the girl's boldness and readiness in her replies to the judicial perquisitions—replies in which the girl clearly had the best of it. His Lordship's insinuation as to the purpose which the sale of combs might be supposed to cover, appears on the face of it to be simply a gratuitous and unmanly insult. As for the question as to whether poor persons ought to be imprisoned or interred with in the endeavour to obtain a livelihood by street-selling, that is one which we think has been already exhausted and decided with sufficient unanimity by the opinions of the public.

At the Middlesex Sessions, a barrister, applying for the costs of a prosecution, said that although the rule of the court was to allow such costs, yet that somebody in the office below seemed to exercise a discretionary power, and allow or disallow costs at pleasure. The assistant Judge replied that the officer below was authorised to make certain inquiries as to the prosecutions being *bona fide* conducted by an attorney, for a client, not by some person who raked up a case for the sake of the costs to be allowed by the court. He knew that several frauds had been committed in this way, and that several attempts had been defeated. It is a somewhat unpleasant reflection, but still leads to a fair inference, that the persons who would thus rake up cases, and successfully contrive frauds upon the Old Bailey authorities for the sake of costs of prosecutions, would scarcely be likely to confine their efforts to cases in which the accused may be actually guilty. Who can tell how many prosecutions have been vamped up in fraud and supported by perjury, for the mere sake of the costs of prosecution? Yet, on the other hand, it is represented that these costs have so diminished that actual criminals continually escape by the reluctance of prosecutors to incur the charges of an indictment, for which their only reimbursement can be according to the miserable scale at present provided.

Frederick Prentice was tried at Maidstone for the murder of Emma Coppins. The deceased was a pretty girl, aged only fifteen, and had been for some time persecuted by the attentions of the prisoner, whom she regarded with aversion and terror. On the evening of the 11th of January, at half-past eight o'clock, she went out to fetch beer for supper. The prisoner waylaid her (as he had done before, but unsuccessfully) and cut her throat in the high road. His cap, and the razor with which he committed the crime, were found lying near her dead body. He was arrested at a short distance, and never attempted to deny his guilt. When called upon to plead to the indictment, he replied, "in a calm, firm voice," "I am guilty." Mr. Baron Martin begged him to reconsider his plea. "If you plead guilty you will certainly be sentenced to death." The prisoner persisted, and again and again was met by the same considerate remonstrance. At length the plea was admitted, and the prisoner was sentenced to be hanged, betraying, as the reporter tells us, not the slightest emotion at any portion of the proceedings. His case is an illustration of a continually-recurring phase of crime, one to which, of all kinds of murder, capital punishment is manifestly inapplicable. A sullen, morose fellow, finding himself thwarted in his efforts, conceives and carries the idea of murdering his victim, knowing that the cost of taking his life will only be the extinction of his own. He speculates upon being hanged, and accepts the bargain. In his case the endurance of capital punishment is simply a kind of suicide, to which the law lends itself as accessory. Were capital punishment withheld in such cases, and penal servitude for life, in its severest form, substituted, murders of young women by their rejected lovers would be far more rare than at present.

In addressing the grand jury at the South Lancashire assizes, upon the charge against the first and second engineers of the *Bogota*, of causing the death of a stoker by tying him to a ladder in front of a blazing furnace, Mr. Justice Wiles remarked upon the fact of the indictment being framed as for manslaughter only, instead of murder, and observed, "that the malignity which could command—and which could carry that command into effect—of putting a human being into a place where his life was in danger from fire, did, in his opinion, stand for malice both in effect and in law. The malice was that which, added to manslaughter, made the offence murder. No doubt the Government would be well advised as to what course to take in further prosecutions in this case."

An attorney who recently compromised a disputed claim by consenting to a judge's order for payment of a certain sum and costs, after receiving the amount registered the order, apparently for no purpose but that of annoying a respectable defendant. The defendant's attorney applied to Mr. Justice Williams, at Chancery, on an affidavit setting forth the facts, and the result was that the plaintiff's attorney was ordered to register satisfaction of the original order, and to pay defendant's costs of the application.

IN THE HIGHLAND DISTRICT OF GLENLIVAT, once a hot-bed of smuggling and indolence, there is now a savings'-bank (established in 1855), the deposits in which at present amount to £1,300, chiefly the savings of agricultural labourers.

IMPORTANT ARREST.—On the arrival of a train by the Antwerp and Rotterdam railway at Rozenlaar, a few days ago, the commissary of police found that a young man who had arrived from Paris was without passport. He said he was a Dane named Alstein, and that he had been employed in an office in London. As he was agitated, and offered some pieces of gold to be allowed to continue his journey, the commissary detained him and ordered him to be searched. He was found to have in his possession £14,000 in notes of the banks of England, Sardinia, and New Granada. Despatches were sent to different places announcing his arrest, and the head of the firm of Spielmann and Co., of London, went to Breda, and recognised him as one of his clerks who at the end of February had absconded with £14,000.

46
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